

SUPPLEMENTA
HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
XII

UT GRANUM SINAPIS
ESSAYS ON NEO-LATIN
LITERATURE IN HONOUR OF
JOZEF IJSEWIJN

EDITED BY
Gilbert TOURNOY and Dirk SACRÉ



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PREFACE

Almost exactly thirty years ago, Jozef IJsewijn started the *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae*, with much enthusiasm, little money, and one single collaborator. Although, not unlike the young Francesco Petrarca, he was fascinated by the eternal beauty of the Latin language, he had had to start his university career a decade earlier in the field of papyrology: at that time there was simply no other option available. This did not prevent him from establishing numerous and lasting contacts with other scholars writing and publishing in Latin. He used his masterly command of that language to publish his first independent contribution dealing with some findings connected with the doctoral dissertation that he was preparing. At the same time he was collecting and studying modern poetry written in Latin, publishing in 1960 a survey for the year 1959; this was followed the next year by a general survey of the Latin poetry in the 20th century. After his doctoral dissertation had been awarded the prize of the 'Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België', its Latin version appeared in 1961 in the 'Verhandelingen' series of this Academy. That publication marked the end of his career as a papyrologist. In the spring of the following year IJsewijn crossed the Alps and travelled with his family to Rome, where he met Mgr. José Ruyschaert, a former pupil of Mgr. Henry de Vocht. This meeting proved decisive for the broadening of his interest towards Latin literature of the humanistic period. Already in 1963 IJsewijn outlined an ambitious programme for the study of neo-Latin literature. It was accompanied by a selective bibliography, covering the entire field of neo-Latin literature. Originally intended for local use in Flanders and Holland only, it was supplemented during the years to come with the intention of reaching an international public, thus laying a sound basis for the *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam, 1977). The University of Louvain created the same year 1963 a new course for the study of neo-Latin literature, entrusting it to the newly appointed IJsewijn, who was charged also with other courses in Classical Philology. It almost immediately proved to be a big success,

attracting a relatively large number of interested students. The next step to take was the creation of an international documentation centre for neo-Latin literature, providing bibliographical help, but also publishing texts and studies in this field. The series *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, had published its last volume in 1961. It had been founded in 1928 by Henry de Vocht, who, furthermore, was responsible for three-quarters of the number of volumes. But De Vocht died in 1962 and the entire stock and the rights had been sold by the publisher to Kraus. So at first it seemed impossible to continue the series. A possible solution was to integrate new studies into the series of the 'Recueil de travaux, publiés par la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'université de Louvain'. A new journal, exclusively dedicated to neo-Latin literature, was also an urgent desideratum, explicitly requested by Prof. Leonard Forster during the first meeting on Belgian humanism (November 27, 1965). With the appointment of an assistant and the foundation of the *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae* in 1966 things gained momentum. In order to continue the Series serious efforts were made to contact former students and collaborators of Mgr De Vocht, who according to the announcement on the cover of *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 15 were currently engaged in the preparation of new studies. But almost nothing was achieved and so the starting of a new journal seemed a more feasible objective. After long discussions we were even allowed to continue using the name of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, transforming the series into an annual publication. But this title now was given a slightly different signification: it had previously related to texts and studies concerning humanists connected with Louvain and its University in one way or another; from now on the field was broadened to include the whole world of humanism and neo-Latin literature, and 'Lovaniensia' assumed the meaning of 'published at Louvain'. The first volume was a rather small one, printed with a very cheap technique and a poor lay-out, and the contributions were all except one by members of the *Seminarium*. All this had already changed in the next volume, for which another printer was approached. Other major changes in the years to come embraced the introduction of a full index from 1973 onwards, and the inclusion of neo-Latin lexicographical aids and a systematic bibliography covering the whole field of neo-Latin literature from 1974 onwards. In this way *Humanistica Lovaniensia* developed into the leading journal in this field. Particularly interesting to note is also the shift from French to English as between the first and later volumes: whilst in the first one the editorial address and

the majority of the contributions were still in French, in later volumes English was used for all information. This had to do of course with our growing awareness of the leading role of English in the world of scholarship, but one should take into account also the events at our University and in Belgium at that time, which might have accelerated the process.

Close collaboration with the Institute of Mediaeval Studies, which was located in the same house, led to the organisation, in May 1970, of a colloquium on *The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy*. For the Institute of Mediaeval Studies it was the starting point for a sequence of successful colloquia, in which the members of the *Seminarium* more than once had their share, as for instance in *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages*, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages*, or *Arturus Rex*. With the publication of the Proceedings of the first colloquium, the series *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia* also took off, and up to now has produced more than twenty-five volumes. For the *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae* it was a try-out for the organisation of the first International Congress for neo-Latin Studies, which took place from 23 to 28 August 1971. The presence of more than 200 participants from 19 European countries, from the United States, Canada and Australia proved the growing interest in this rich field of scholarship. The wish, formulated by the American member of the organizing committee, Prof. Lawrence V. Ryan, in his Opening Address: "may this be the first of many such International Congresses for Neo-Latin Studies", has come true: after Amsterdam, Tours, Bologna, St Andrews, Wolfenbüttel, Toronto, Copenhagen and Bari, neo-Latin scholars will convene for the Xth Congress at Avila in August 1997. In comparison with the first Congress, the number of participants and of the papers will be more than doubled, which is a clear sign of the vitality of our scholarship. One of the main reasons why the Leuven gathering was not an ephemeral event, was the decision made by the participants on August 25, 1971, to found an international association which could promote the development of neo-Latin Studies by organizing such congresses on a regular basis. This association was officially founded during the Second Congress at Amsterdam in 1973, and its first President was, of course, Jozef IJsewijn. The journal *Humanistica Lovaniensia* served as its official organ, publishing the English and the French versions of the statutes in 1974 and 1975 respectively, these being followed by the official Latin version by IJsewijn, which came out in 1977. In that same year 1977 appeared the first edition of IJsewijn's *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*.

It evidently met a long-felt want, and in no time it was out of print. The first volume of the second edition came out in 1990, the second is expected in 1997.

For all these achievements IJsewijn was awarded the Francqui prize, the highest Belgian distinction for scholars, on April 15, 1980.

In order to propagate neo-Latin scholarship within wider circles, the members of the *Seminarium*, and IJsewijn in the first place, collaborated in encyclopedias and general works such as the *Moderne Encyclopedie der Wereldliteratuur* (Gent — Haarlem, 1963 —; 2nd edition: Haarlem-Antwerp, 1980—), the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, or the *Nieuwe Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*. With that same purpose, exhibitions and commemorations were set up, or were granted assistance, such as the ones on Erasmus in 1969 and again in 1986, on Dirk Martens in 1973, on 550 Years of the University of Leuven in 1976, on Vives and Clenardus in 1993; and now the commemoration of Justus Lipsius will be celebrated at Leuven with an exhibition and a colloquium in the Fall of 1997.

Meanwhile, the number of students in Classical Philology, and thus the number of our prospective collaborators, dropped dramatically during the seventies. The year 1974, for instance, saw two doctoral dissertations, but not a single licentiate dissertation in the field of humanism, whilst in the year before only two licentiate dissertations were finished under IJsewijn's direction; that is, only the same number as doctoral dissertations. The *Seminarium* finally lost its second assistant to colleagues in Germanic philology, and some of the best of our young scholars were not able to stay on at our University. They dropped out or had to find an occupation elsewhere. On the other hand, a steadily growing number of undergraduate and especially postgraduate students, as well as research fellows, were eager to come to Leuven and spend some months at the *Seminarium* and its library. But these numbers do not carry weight as regards the financing of the section, the department or the faculty, and thus are easily discounted. However, since the general situation has slightly improved over the last few years, it is our hope and our expectation — if we can count upon the loyal help of all collaborators — that the life-work of Jozef IJsewijn, this 'centre of excellence' as it is called, can continue to grow into the next millennium and beyond. After all, it is primarily his dedication and expertise that have made Neo-Latin accepted and appreciated on an international level, so that it can take its rightful place in European literary history. May God give IJsewijn the strength to be our guide for many years to come.

LUCIA GUALDO ROSA

PADOVA 1420: UN COMMENTO UNIVERSITARIO DI
GASPARINO BARZIZZA A QUINDICI ORAZIONI
DI CICERONE

I cinque anni che vanno dal 1416 al 1421 segnano, secondo il Murphy, una decisa accelerazione nel passaggio dal Medio Evo all'età moderna.¹ In quegli anni, infatti, grazie alle scoperte di Poggio Bracciolini nel 1416 e di Gherardo Landriani nel 1421, ritornavano trionfalmente alla luce — insieme a moltissimi altri classici latini — i trattati retorici più importanti dell'antichità, e cioè le *Institutiones oratoriae* di Quintiliano e un'edizione, finalmente integra, del *De oratore* ciceroniano.²

Benché non abbia personalmente partecipato a nessuna delle missioni esplorative di quegli anni gloriosi, Gasparino Barzizza si trovò a svolgere, soprattutto negli anni del suo insegnamento padovano, una funzione essenziale nel rinnovamento dei programmi e dei testi che si operò rapidamente nelle scuole e nelle università. L'importanza del Barzizza e del suo insegnamento — pur documentata largamente dalle preziose ricerche del Sabbadini e del Bertalot³ — fu lungamente sottovalutata: il suo nome appare appena nell'*Educazione in Europa* del Garin⁴ e non compare affatto nella citata *Retorica* del Murphy. Solo di recente, e in particolare a partire dagli anni sessanta, il Barzizza sta tornando ad occupare il posto che merita nell'attenzione dei nostri maggiori

¹ J.J. Murphy, *La retorica nel Medioevo. Una storia delle teorie retoriche da s. Agostino al Rinascimento*, introduzione e trad. a cura di V. Licitra, Nuovo Medioevo, 17 (Napoli, 1983), pp. 405-12.

² Cfr. R. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini*, Medioevo e umanesimo, 11 (Padova, 1971, 2a ed.), pp. 93-96; Id., *Le scoperte di codici latini e greci nei secoli XIV e XV*, 2 voll. (Firenze, 1967, 2a ed.), II, 209.

³ R. Sabbadini, 'Lettere e orazioni edite e inedite di Gasparino Barzizza', *Archivio storico lombardo*, s. II, 13 (1886), 363-78; 563-83; L. Bertalot, 'Die älteste Briefsammlung des Gasparino Barzizza', *Beiträge zur Forschung. Studien aus dem Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal*, N. F., 2 (1929), 39-84, ora in Id., *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, hrsg. P. O. Kristeller, II, Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi, 130 (Roma, 1975), pp. 31-102.

⁴ E. Garin, *L'educazione in Europa (1400-1600). Problemi e programmi*, Biblioteca di cultura moderna, 521 (Bari, 1957), pp. 13-21.

studiosi.⁵ Molto resta ancora da fare, ma le indagini si sono avviate nella direzione giusta: ricostruzione del suo metodo esegetico e filologico, censimento delle sue opere e della loro diffusione, ricostruzione — per quanto è possibile — della sua preziosa biblioteca.⁶ Come è noto, il Barzizza, grazie al prestigio che si era conquistato con il suo insegnamento, riusciva sempre ad ottenere fra i primi i frutti delle sensazionali scoperte codicologiche di quegli anni; ma accanto ai preziosi codici di lavoro che egli portò sempre con sé e lasciò in eredità al figlio prediletto Guiniforte e ai suoi discendenti, sappiamo che egli preparava per discepoli, corrispondenti e amici più o meno illustri vere e proprie edizioni di classici, curati nel testo, commentati e accuratamente divisi in capitoli, secondo gli schemi suggeriti dalle *Partitiones oratoriae* e dalla *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.⁷

Il primo tentativo di rimettere insieme la biblioteca del Barzizza fu compiuto, nei primi anni del '500, dall'umanista cosentino Gian Paolo Parisi, più noto col nome accademico di Aulo Giano Parrasio.⁸ I codici

⁵ Per la biografia del Barzizza, cfr. A. Azzoni, 'Ricerche barzizziane', *Bergomum*, 34 (1960), 15-26; G. Martellotti, 'Barzizza Gasparino', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 7 (Roma, 1965), pp. 34-39; G. Colombo, 'Gasparino Barzizza a Padova. Nuovi ragguagli da lettere inedite', *Quaderni per la storia della Università di Padova*, 2 (1969), 1-27; D. Girgensohn, 'Gasparino Barzizza, cittadino padovano, onorato dalla Repubblica di Venezia', *Quaderni per la storia della Università di Padova*, 19 (1986), 1-15.

⁶ Per il metodo esegetico del Barzizza e per alcune sue opere, cfr. R. G. G. Mercer, *The Teaching of Gasparino Barzizza, with special Reference to his Place in Paduan Humanism*, Modern Humanities Research Association. Texts and Dissertations, 10 (London, 1979); L. A. Panizza, 'Gasparino Barzizza's Commentaries on Seneca's Letters', *Traditio*, 33 (1977), 297-358; D. Mazzuconi, 'Per una sistemazione dell'epistolario di Gasparino Barzizza', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 20 (1977), 183-241; G. W. Pigman III, 'Barzizza's Studies of Cicero', *Rinascimento*, n. s. 21 (1981), 123-61. Per i suoi manoscritti, cfr. D. Mazzuconi, 'Stefano Fieschi da Soncino: un allievo di Gasparino Barzizza', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 24 (1981), 257-85; M. F. Tremolada, 'I manoscritti di Gasparino Barzizza nelle biblioteche milanesi', *Libri e documenti*, 14 (1988), 57-69.

⁷ Basterà leggere, nell'edizione del Bertalot, la lettera scritta nel 1418 da Gasparino al suo allievo e corrispondente Lorenzo Bonzi (su cui ritorneremo); egli si scusa per aver tardato a rispondergli, perché impegnato a preparare per lui un'edizione testualmente accurata e puntualmente annotata e divisa in capitoli del *De oratore*. In particolare, è illuminante il passo seguente: «Et quia partitio, in rebus magnis et obscuris recte habita, reliquam ditionem totam illustrat <ed. illustret>, singulos libros in capita quaedam et in partes divisi et quod in uno quoque genere continetur breviter aperui.» Cfr. Bertalot, 'Die älteste Briefsammlung', pp. 98-99.

⁸ Su Aulo Giano Parrasio, cfr. F. Lo Parco, *Aulo Giano Parrasio. Studio biografico e critico* (Vasto, 1899); F. D'Episcopo, *Aulo Giano Parrasio, fondatore dell'Accademia Cosentina*, L'Europa in provincia. Collana di cultura meridionale diretta da F. D'Episcopo (Cosenza, 1982). Sulla sua biblioteca, cfr. D. Gutiérrez, 'La biblioteca di S. Giovanni a Carbonara a Napoli', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 29 (1966), 66-212; C. Tristano,

barzizziani che egli riuscì a procurarsi furono assai numerosi; i più preziosi furono acquistati a Milano, «ab haeredibus Gasparini Bergomatis», come si ricava dalle note che egli ci ha lasciato in quasi tutti i manoscritti da lui raccolti.⁹ Alcuni furono acquistati a Vicenza, Verona, Venezia, Padova, da allievi o eredi di allievi che li avevano o comprati o ottenuti in prestito dal maestro. Altri manoscritti, che il Parrasio non trovò e non riuscì ad acquistare, rimasero nelle biblioteche milanesi, o si dispersero in altre biblioteche italiane e straniere. Altri furono sottratti dalla biblioteca del Parrasio in epoche successive.

Ad ogni modo, per il tramite del Parrasio, e dei suoi eredi — Antonio e Girolamo Seripando — un gruppo assai consistente dei codici del Barzizza approdò prima alla biblioteca agostiniana di S. Giovanni a Carbonara, e poi alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.¹⁰

La presenza di codici del Barzizza fra i manoscritti parrasiani, già segnalata dal Sabbadini, fu sottolineata per la prima volta in un fondamentale saggio di Giovanni Mercati; il quale, partendo proprio dalla nota di provenienza apposta dal Parrasio sul foglio di guardia dei suoi codici, ne aveva segnalati dieci.¹¹ Nel suo recente studio sulla biblioteca del Parrasio e sui suoi inventari, la Tristano ha aggiunto alla lista altri tre manoscritti.¹² Ma questo elenco può essere accresciuto, mettendo a frutto da un lato l'*Iter Italicum* del Kristeller, dall'altro le molte notizie che sui codici del Barzizza si possono ricavare dai recenti lavori del Colombo, della Mazzuconi e della Tremolada.¹³ Seguendo queste piste,

La biblioteca di un umanista calabrese: Aulo Giano Parrasio, Università degli studi della Calabria. Dipartimento di filologia (Manziana, 1988).

⁹ Questa nota di provenienza, accompagnata anche dal prezzo pagato dal Parrasio, fu segnalata per la prima volta col dovuto rilievo, nel saggio di G. Mercati, *De fatis bibliothecae monasterii s. Columbani Bobiensis et de codice ipso Vat. lat. 5757* (Ex Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934), pp. 111-33.

¹⁰ Cfr. G. Guerrieri, *La Biblioteca Nazionale «Vittorio Emanuele III» di Napoli* (Milano-Napoli, 1974).

¹¹ I dieci codici della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, identificati dal Mercati, sulla base della nota di provenienza che si legge nel primo foglio di guardia, sono i seguenti: IV A 37 (= 38), IV A 43, IV A 44, IV B 16, IV C 32, IV C 43, IV D 49, IV G 7, V A 11, Neap. lat. 32 (già Viennese 5). Cfr. Mercati, *De fatis*, p. 112, nota 5. Il fatto è che non in tutti i codici si è conservato il foglio di guardia con la nota del Parrasio, e soprattutto che non tutti i codici del Barzizza, né quelli di suo figlio Guiniforte erano rimasti nella biblioteca di famiglia.

¹² I tre codici aggiunti dalla Tristano, sulla base di una precisa nota di possesso autografa di Gasparino, sono i seguenti: V D 18, V D 20, V D 35. Cfr. Tristano, *La biblioteca di un umanista*, p. 23.

¹³ P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued Humanist Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries*, I-VI (London-Leiden, 1963-1992); Mazzuconi, 'Stefano Fieschi', pp. 266-7.

ed utilizzando anche i molti suggerimenti che si possono ricavare dagli indici del libro della Tristano, un mio allievo napoletano, Sergio Ingegno, nel preparare la sua tesi di laurea, è riuscito ad individuare alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli ventisette codici, che si possono con sicurezza — o con fondate ragioni — far risalire a Gasparino Barzizza, a suo figlio Guiniforte e ad altri discepoli dei due maestri bergamaschi. La ricerca dovrà proseguire ed ha ovviamente bisogno di ulteriori approfondimenti; per ora mi limito a dare in nota l'elenco dei quattordici manoscritti che si aggiungono ai tredici finora conosciuti.¹⁴

Tra questi ventisette manoscritti, uno solo, pur potendo, per una sua sezione, essere ricondotto all'insegnamento di Gasparino Barzizza, non proviene dalla biblioteca del Parrasio. Si tratta del codice V B 35, proveniente dalla preziosa e ricchissima biblioteca di un bibliofilo di Chieti, Romualdo di Sterlich, marchese di Cermignano.¹⁵ Il codice — di cui diamo in appendice una descrizione dettagliata — è composito, in quanto nato dall'assemblaggio di quattordici fascicoli di formato ed epoca diversi, contenenti testi in latino e in volgare, tutti di notevole interesse. Del codice V B 35 a noi interessa solo il fascicolo n° 8: il fascicolo comprende 10 bifogli (ff. 109-128), di cui solo i ff. 110-118 sono scritti da un'unica mano, in una semigotica corsiva piuttosto affrettata. Il contenuto è indicato chiaramente dall'*explicit*, scritto da una mano diversa, che sembra essere di un copista di professione: «Expliciunt quedam utilissima argumenta super XV orationes M. Tullii

¹⁴ Dò qui l'elenco dei quattordici codici «barzizziani», individuati da Sergio Ingegno, aggiungendo tra parentesi il nome del possessore, quando non si tratti dello stesso Gasparino:

IV B 8, IV B 9, IV B 14 (di Bartolomeo Sachella, collaboratore di Guiniforte), IV C 23 (segnalato dalla Mazzuconi, sulla base di appunti inediti di G. Colombo), IV C 50 (nota di poss. di Guiniforte), IV G 8 (di Bartolomeo Sachella), V A 20 (Mazzuconi), V B 19 (Mazzuconi), V B 35 (sezione di Lorenzo Bonzi), V G 14 (Mazzuconi), V G 15 (di Guiniforte), VIII G 51 (Mazzuconi), VI B 15 (segnalato da David Rutherford), XIII G 9 (segnalato da Giliola Barbero). Cfr. il catalogo citato a p. 12.

¹⁵ Per Romualdo di Sterlich e per la sua biblioteca, cfr. G. Ravizza, *Notizie biografiche che riguardano gli uomini illustri della città di Chieti* (Napoli, 1830), pp. 114-117; U. Russo, *Studi sul Settecento in Abruzzo* (Chieti, 1990), pp. 35-51. Accanto al ms. V B 35, ho identificato alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli i seguenti manoscritti, che provengono dalla stessa biblioteca: 1) IV A 65, contenente il *De oratore* e parte dell'*Orator*, cfr. E. Scuto — I. Azzaro, 'Manoscritti latini non compresi nel catalogo Iannelli', *I quaderni della Biblioteca nazionale di Napoli*, V 3 (1980), 12; 2) IV E 52, contenente il commento di Baldassarre Oferiano ai *Paradoxa* ciceroniani e un testo del grammatico Capro, cfr. Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 399b; 3) XIX 26, contenente testi di contenuto religioso e teologico; cfr. C. Cenci, O. F. M., *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, II (Quaracchi, 1971), pp. 987-90, n° 650.

Ciceronis, declarantia locos tocius artis ipsarum orationum, per clarissimum virum Laurentium Bontium breviter collecta ex dictis Gasparini Pergamensis viri eloquentissimi, dum easdem orationes Padue legeret anno Domini nostri Yhesu Christi MCCCC^oXX^o». L'autore di queste «recollectae», è dunque Lorenzo Bonzi (o Bonsi), cui Gasparino indirizzò — fra il 1407 e il 1418 — sei lettere familiari.¹⁶ Da queste lettere si ricava che il Bonzi era un discepolo affezionato e fedele di Gasparino, che dal maestro aveva assorbito una forte passione per il Cicerone retorico. Di questi appunti del Barzizza — adeguatamente descritti nel I volume dell'*Iter Italicum* fin dal 1963 — si sono già occupati la Mazzuconi e il Pigman: mentre la Mazzuconi si limita tuttavia a descrivere brevemente il manoscritto, riproducendone l'*explicit*, il Pigman, in un articolo in cui illustra l'importanza del Barzizza per lo studio dell'opera retorica ed oratoria di Cicerone, ne pubblica un *excerptum* per illustrare le caratteristiche del suo metodo esegetico.¹⁷ Ritengo tuttavia che non sia inutile tornare ad esaminarli, per sottolinearne alcuni aspetti.

In primo luogo, mi sembra che la presenza, fra le orazioni commentate a Padova dal Barzizza, di tre fra le otto orazioni scoperte da Poggio nel 1417, benché segnalata dal Pigman, vada ulteriormente sottolineata.¹⁸

Che Gasparino avesse commentato a Padova, nel 1420, le «nuove» orazioni portate alla luce da Poggio tra il 1415 e il 1417, lo sapevamo già. La notizia ci era stata data da un altro discepolo del Barzizza, Giovanni Tremonti in una nota da lui apposta, nel 1438, sul secondo foglio di guardia del ms. 2137 della Biblioteca Angelica di Roma.¹⁹ Ora gli

¹⁶ Per le lettere indirizzate da Gasparino al Bonzi, cfr. Mazzuconi, 'Per una sistemazione dell'epistolario', n° 33, 109, 136, 185, 187, 233. Cfr. anche *supra*, nota 7.

¹⁷ Cfr. Mazzuconi, 'Stefano Fieschi', p. 266 e Pigman, 'Barzizza's Studies', pp. 130-2.

¹⁸ Per la scoperta, da parte di Poggio Bracciolini e di Cencio de' Rustici, di otto nuove orazioni ciceroniane, cfr. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica*, pp. 36-9. Delle nuove orazioni, nel codice napoletano se ne trovano, parzialmente commentate, solo tre, e cioè l'*In Pisonem* e le prime due *De lege agraria* (cfr. la descrizione del codice nell'App. I).

¹⁹ In calce alla *tabula* da lui premessa al codice (che contiene l'*Inquisitio* di Antonio Loschi su 11 orazioni ciceroniane e gli *Argumenta* di altre 12 orazioni, di Sicco Polenton), il Tremonti annota: «Hec sunt argumenta orationum et omnia que in hoc volumina continentur. Alia autem, super oratione videlicet pro Sexto Roscio, pro Lucio Murena et aliis que post invente fuerunt, usque ad numerum trigenarium et amplius, habeo in alio volumine, que ego exaravi raptim sub doctrina atque lectura famosissimi oratoris et artium doctoris Magistri Gasparini Pergamensis, Patavii 1420, cum essem ego, Johannes

appunti conservati nel codice napoletano, ci confermano che il Barzizza poteva utilizzare o lo stesso manoscritto di Poggio, che Francesco Barbaro aveva portato a Venezia nel 1418, o un suo diretto apografo.²⁰ Infatti al f. 13, dopo il titolo della prima orazione *De lege agraria*, scritto, come per le altre orazioni, in maiuscole onciali («De lege agraria contra P. Rullum Oratio prima, cuius incipium Que res...»), il Bonzi aggiunge: «M. T. Ci. De lege agraria contra Rullum tri<bunum> ple<bis> liber incipit», e, iniziando a trascrivere la nota marginale di Poggio (cfr. ms. Vat. lat. 11458, f. 53), scrive: «In quodam antiquo volumine».²¹ Ma la cosa più importante e direi decisiva, è che al f. 13v, subito dopo l'*incipit* della seconda orazione *De lege agraria*, troviamo trascritta, abbastanza fedelmente, la famosa *scriptio* di Statilio Massimo: «In exemplari vetustissimo hoc erat in margine: *Emendavi ad Tironem et Lactavianum. Acta ipso Cicerone et Antonio consulibus. Oratio XXIII. In exemplo sic fuit: Statilius Maximus. Rursum emendavi ad Tironem et Lactavianum et Dom. et alios <ms. alias> veteres. Illi oratio eximia*».²² Quello che fa pensare che il Barzizza non avesse in mano lo stesso codice di Poggio, e cioè il Vat. lat. 11458 identificato dal Campana, ma un apografo fatto preparare per lui da Francesco Barbaro, è la lettura «Lactavianum» invece del «Laecanianum» che si legge chiaramente al f. 56 del codice vaticano.²³ Ad ogni modo la presenza, all'interno degli appunti, della famosissima *scriptio* andava sottolineata. Accanto alla *scriptio* di Statilio Massimo, troviamo citato per due volte, nei magri appunti retorici all'*In Pisonem* il nome di Asconio

de tribus montibus, eius auditor atque discipulus et nunc huius libri verus possessor, cum hec scriberem 1438, quarto nonas novembres». Qui il Tremonti non parla solo delle orazioni scoperte da Poggio nel 1417, ma anche di quelle da lui ritrovate nel 1415; cfr. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici*, II, 211.

²⁰ Che il Niccoli, dopo aver ricevuto nel 1418 il «thesaurus Poggianus», lo abbia fatto avere nello stesso anno a Francesco Barbaro, lo dimostra con la consueta precisione documentaria il Sabbadini; cfr. *Storia e critica*, pp. 36-37. Il codice di Poggio fu, nel 1948, identificato da Augusto Campana nel Vat. lat. 11458. Per questo famoso manoscritto, cfr. J. Ruyschaert, *Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 11414-11709* (In Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1959), pp. 93-6; vedi anche A. Campana, 'La copia autografa delle otto orazioni ciceroniane scoperte da Poggio nel 1417', *Ciceroniana*, 1 (1973), 65-8.

²¹ Cfr. O. Pecere, 'La *scriptio* di Statilio Massimo e la tradizione della *Agraria* di Cicerone', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 25 (1982), 75-123. Per la nota poggiana al f. 53, marg. destro, cfr. p. 78 e tav. XII, 1.

²² Per il testo della *scriptio* nel codice Vat. lat. 11458, cfr. Pecere, 'La *scriptio*', pp. 74-6 e tav. XII, 1-2.

²³ Per la deformazione umanistica del nome *Laecanianum*, cfr. Pecere, 'La *scriptio*', p. 73 e nota 4.

Pediano. Dunque il Barzizza, nel commentare a Padova le orazioni appena scoperte da Poggio, si serviva anche del commento di Asconio, scoperto da Poggio a S. Gallo nel 1416.²⁴ Che il Barzizza — fin dal 1418 — possedesse sia il testo di Quintiliano che quello di Asconio, lo sapevamo da una lettera di Guarino Veronese a Girolamo Gualdo, lettera pubblicata dal Sabbadini.²⁵ Ma anche questa autorevole presenza andava sottolineata.

Dal punto di vista del metodo esegetico, è evidente che — come ha sottolineato il Pigman — il Barzizza dipende direttamente dalla celebre *Inquisitio* che Antonio Loschi aveva condotto su undici orazioni ciceroniane, in una data che il Sabbadini colloca tra il 1395 e il 1402.²⁶ Come il Loschi, anche il Barzizza dipende del resto da quella celebre ed autorevole *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (o, come si chiamava allora *Rhetorica nova*), che entrambi consideravano ancora ciceroniana.²⁷ Secondo quel metodo — squisitamente retorico — le orazioni di Cicerone sono suddivise in tante sezioni, in modo da costituire un perfetto modello stilistico per i discepoli. La perdita degli appunti raccolti da Giovanni Tremonti «in alio volumine», ci priva per ora delle note barzizziane alle altre orazioni ciceroniane scoperte da Poggio. Ma non è escluso che lo studio sistematico dei codici non ce le possa restituire. Per ora possiamo collazionare gli appunti del codice napoletano (che chiameremo N), con le note che Rinuccio Aretino ha scritto a margine di un suo codice — sicuramente almeno in parte autografo — contenente venti orazioni ciceroniane. Il codice è il ms. Chigiano latino H VI 181, della Biblioteca Vaticana; un codice segnalato dal Bertalot e descritto accuratamente dal Lockwood e che, in omaggio al suo autore, chiameremo R.²⁸ Il Lockwood datava il codice al 1450, e riteneva che Rinuccio lo avesse preparato a fini didattici, per il corso di retorica che

²⁴ Per le due citazioni di Asconio Pediano, cfr. *infra*, App. II e note a-b. Nessuna citazione da Asconio ho trovato nel commento alla *Pro Milone*, che si legge ai ff. 111-112v.

²⁵ Cfr. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici*, II, 202-3. Il commento, frammentario, di Asconio Pediano fu scoperto da Poggio a San Gallo, insieme con il testo intero delle *Institutiones* di Quintiliano.

²⁶ Per la lettera a Girolamo Gualdo, dell'11 dicembre 1419, cfr. R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, I, Miscellanea di storia veneta, s. III, 8 (Venezia, 1915), p. 284, n° 179.

²⁷ Cfr. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica*, pp. 20-21. Per un profilo biografico e una bibliografia aggiornata su Antonio Loschi, cfr. anche G. Gualdo, 'Antonio Loschi, segretario apostolico (1406-1436)', *Archivio storico italiano*, 147 (1989), 749-69.

²⁸ Cfr. ps. Cicerone, *La retorica a Gaio Erennio*, a cura di F. Cancelli, Centro di studi Ciceroniani. Tutte le opere di Cicerone, 32 (Milano, 1992), pp. 73-77.

egli tenne in quell'anno all'università di Perugia.²⁹ Ma sulla biografia di Rinuccio Aretino siamo ancora troppo poco informati. Per ora ci limiteremo ad analizzare il contenuto del manoscritto, per quello che ne possiamo ricavare ai fini della ricostruzione del testo del «commentariolum» barzizziano e della sua fortuna.

Rinuccio ha trascritto — con l'aiuto di alcuni segretari — le seguenti venti orazioni ciceroniane: 1) *de imperio Cn. Pompeii*; 2) *pro Milone*; 3) *pro Marcello*; 4) *pro Plancio*; 5) *pro Quinctio*; 6) *pro Archia*; 7) *pro Sulla*; 8) *pro Ligario*; 9) *pro rege Deiotaro*; 10) *pro Cluentio*; 11) *pro Cornelio*; 12) *pro Caelio*; 13) *pro Flacco*; 14) *pro domo sua*; 15) *de haruspium responsis*; 16) *de provinciis consularibus*; 17) *ad Quirites, pridie quam in exilium mitteretur*; 18) *post reditum ad Senatum*; 19) *post reditum ad Quirites*; 20) *in Pisonem*. Se si confronta questo elenco con quello delle quindici orazioni presenti nel codice N, si vede che ben undici orazioni coincidono. Eccole, nell'ordine in cui si leggono in N: 1) *de imperio Cn. Pompeii*; 2) *pro Milone*; 3) *in Pisonem*; 6) *pro Cornelio*; 7) *post reditum ad Senatum*; 8) *post reditum ad Quirites*; 9) *de haruspium responsis*; 10) *de provinciis consularibus*; 12) *pro Caelio*; 13) *ad Quirites pridie quam in exilium proficisceretur* (spuria); 14) *pro domo sua*.

Vediamo ora l'elenco delle undici orazioni commentate retoricamente dal Loschi nella sua *Inquisitio*: 1) *pro imperio Cn. Pompeii*; 2) *pro Milone*; 3) *pro Plancio*; 4) *pro Sulla*; 5) *pro Archia*; 6) *pro Marcello*; 7) *pro Ligario*; 8) *pro rege Deiotaro*; 9) *pro Cluentio*; 10) *pro Quinctio*; 11) *pro Flacco*.

Come si vede, Rinuccio ha trascritto (e annotato) due orazioni commentate sia dal Loschi che dal Barzizza, e precisamente quelle che occupano in tutte e tre gli elenchi i primi due posti: la *de imperio Cn. Pompeii* e la *pro Milone*; per il resto nel codice si leggono — sia pure in una disposizione diversa — prima le orazioni commentate dal Loschi, poi quelle commentate a Padova dal Barzizza. Questo raffronto non è

²⁹ Per il codice Chigi H VI 181, cfr. L. Bertalot, 'Zwölf Briefe des Ambrogio Traversari', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 29 (1915), 91-106, ora in Id., *Studien*, I, 253, nota 2. Vedi inoltre D. P. Lockwood, 'In domo Rinucii', in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of E.K. Rand* (New York, 1938), pp. 179-85 e tav. I; S. Rizzo, *Catalogo dei codici della 'Pro Cluentio' ciceroniana*, Università di Genova. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di filologia classica e medievale, 75 (Genova, 1983), pp. 132-3, n°122.

³⁰ Cfr. Lockwood, 'In domo Rinucii', p. 183. Su Rinuccio da Castiglione Fiorentino, più noto come Rinuccio Aretino, cfr. anche E. Berti, *Il 'Critone' latino di Leonardo Bruni e di Rinuccio Aretino*, edizione critica a cura di E. Berti e A. Carosini, Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere «La Colombaria», Studi, 62 (Firenze, 1983), pp. 39-42.

del tutto superfluo; perché, se si leggono le note marginali di Rinuccio, ci si accorge che egli ha attinto sia al Loschi, sia — quando era possibile — al Barzizza. La presenza del Loschi nelle note marginali di Rinuccio era stata già rilevata dal Lockwood; il quale ovviamente non aveva potuto parlare del commento del Barzizza, poiché egli scriveva in un'epoca che a noi oggi appare preistorica, e cioè «ante *Iter natum*». Le note di Rinuccio si distinguono in due tipi. All'inizio di ogni orazione troviamo quasi sempre una lunga nota che riassume il contenuto del discorso; questa nota deriva normalmente dal Loschi. Quando l'orazione non è presente nell'*Inquisitio*, manca anche la nota contenutistica. Alla nota contenutistica tiene dietro una breve nota che riconduce l'orazione al genere retorico di appartenenza e ne distingue le principali sezioni retoriche, dall'*exordium* alla *conclusio*. Ebbene, questa glossa coincide con gli appunti del codice N nei casi seguenti:

- a) codice R, f. 11v (*pro Milone*) = N, f. 11 r-v;
- b) R, f. 102v, marg. inf. (*pro Caelio*) = N, f. 116 r-v;
- c) R, f. 112v, marg. inf. (*pro Cornelio*) = N, f. 114;
- d) R, f. 134, marg. inf. (*pro domo sua*) = N, f. 117;
- e) R, f. 153v, marg. inf. (*de haruspicum responsis*) = N, f. 115;
- f) R, f. 163, marg. sup. (*de provinciis consularibus*) = N, f. 116;
- g) R, f. 173, marg. dextro (*post reditum ad senatum*) = N, f. 114v.

Probabilmente altre corrispondenze si potrebbero riscontrare, analizzando le brevi note, tutte di tipo retorico, che si leggono ai margini di ogni orazione in R, e che, anche quando non coincidono, sono assai vicine agli appunti, dati ovviamente di seguito (in assenza del testo di Cicerone, presente solo con brevi lemmi), nel codice N. Per ora, per mostrare la stretta dipendenza di Rinuccio dal «commento» barzizziano, diamo in appendice il testo delle note all'orazione in *Pisonem*, dando al tempo stesso in apparato il testo di R.

Anche da queste brevi osservazioni, si ricava quale importanza abbia avuto il Barzizza non certo come scopritore di testi o come inventore di una nuova tecnica esegetica, ma come impareggiabile divulgatore e maestro di quel ciceronianesimo retorico che tanta importanza avrà in Europa nei secoli successivi. Ne dovrebbe derivare inoltre un invito allo studio sempre più approfondito dei manoscritti contenenti opere del Barzizza e ancor più di quelli che contengono classici latini da lui annotati ed emendati, il cui censimento e il cui studio è un campo fertilissimo ancora tutto da dissodare.

APPENDICI

I. Descrizione del codice V B 35 della BN di Napoli

Cart. e membr., ss. XV in.-XVI ex. e s. XVIII; ff. I (cart. mod.) + I (membr. mod.) + 220 (numeraz. recente a matita) + I' (cart. mod.).

Codice composito, derivante dalla giustapposizione di 14 fascicoli, di formato, epoca, materiale diversi. Il curatore settecentesco (probabilmente un bibliotecario del marchese di Sterlich), ha preposto al codice e a ciascun fascicolo una *tabula*, in cui se ne descrive, in bella maiuscola epigrafica, il contenuto.

Legatura del s. XVIII in pelle marrone, ornata a secco con cornice ed elementi floreali. Il codice, proveniente dalla biblioteca privata del marchese di Cernignano, Romualdo di Sterlich (cfr. f. 5: «Ex Museo Marchionis de Sterlich») è stato restaurato a Grottaferrata nel 1973. Sul dorso, cartellino con la collocazione attuale + impresso, in oro, «Opuscula varia selecta mss.»

I) Membr.; ff. 1-4: s. XVIII: maiuscola epigrafica; ff. 5-24: s. XV in.; scrittura umanistica *rotunda*; mm. 230/160;

ff. 1-4: *tabula* dell'intero ms.; f. 4 r-v: *tabula* del fascicolo;

ff. 5-17: Constantiae Varaniae Epistolae, orationes et carmina;

ff. 17v-19: Baptiste de Malatestis ad Augustum Cesarem. *Non solum tacita...*;
f. 19 r-v: Illustris domine Baptiste de Malatestis ad beatissimum patrem papam Martinum Colonensem navata ab ipsa Rome (litt. rubr.). <P>*aveo equidem, beatissime pater, nec mediocriter vereor...*;

ff. 20-21v: Guarini Veronensis ad v. d. Anglum oratio. *Constitui sepenumero mecum, vir amplissime...*; ff. 21v-24: Idem Guarinus ad Marchionem Ferrarie. *Nulla profecto, Leonelle princeps..*

II) Cart.; mm. 220/160; ff. 25-26: s. XVIII, contenuto: ff. 27-40, s. XV 1/2 (1451); scrittura umanistica corsiva.

ff. 27-40: Isotae Nogarolae et Ludovici Fuscarenii Epistolae de Evae et Adae peccato. De re ipsa Silvestri Landi epistola ad eandem Isotam.

III) Cart.; mm. 200/156; ff. 41-42, s. XVIII, contenuto: ff. 43-57v: s. XVex; scrittura umanistica semilibraria, con elementi cancellereschi, e poi tendenza all'italica;

ff. 43-50: L. Bruni, *Hypocr.*;

ff. 51-57v: F. Petrarca a Niccolò Acciaiuoli. *Iam tandem, vir clarissime, perfidiam fides...*;

ff. 58-60: bianchi.

IV) Cart.; mm. 200/132; ff. 61-62: s. XVIII, contenuto: ff. 63-66v (antica numeraz. ff. 15-18v): s. XV/2, umanistica assai corsiva;

ff. 63-64v: <B. Guarini>, *De Methodo servanda in litterarii studii ratione*, mutila al principio;

ff. 64v-66v: tre lettere di Guarino.

V) Cart.; s. XVI in.; mm. 205/146; scrittura italiana molto corsiva;

f. 67 r-v: *Academiae Germanicae insigniores*.

VI) Cart.; mm. 210/140; ff. 68-69, s. XVIII, contenuto;

ff. 70-85v, s. XVI: Anonimo, «Notae in Argonauticon C. Valerii Flacci Setini Balbi», inc: *Argonautarum expeditionem cognituris...*;

ff. 86-89: bianchi;

VII) Cart.; mm. 200/155; ff. 90-91: s. XVIII, titolo;

ff. 92-103: s. XV/2: scrittura umanistica corsiva di due mani diverse, entrambe della sec. metà del '400: «*Schedae variae eruditae*».

VIII) Cart.; mm. 220/147; ff. 107-108: s. XVIII, contenuto: «Gasparini Pergamensis viri eloquentissimi in Patavina Universitate professoris, anno 1420, Argumenta in quindecim orationes M.Tullii Ciceronis a Laurentio Bontio breviter collecta»;

ff. 109-128: 1420, semigotica, probabilmente di mano del Bonzi; sec. Mirella Ferrari, l'*explicit* è scritto da un copista di professione, mentre il resto degli appunti rivela una mano inesperta che scrive in modo assai affrettato. Fascicolo di 10 bifogli; filigrana: liocorno a figura intera, rampante, per cui cfr. Briquet, nn. 9954-56; scritto solo nei ff. 110-118: *Argumenta* delle segg. orazioni ciceroniane:

- 1) ff. 110-111: *Manil.*; 2) ff. 111-112v: *Mil.*; 3) ff. 112v-113: *Pis.*; 4) f. 113 r-v: *leg. agr. I*; 5) ff. 113v-114: *leg. agr. II*; 6) f. 114: *Balb.*; 7) f. 114v: *post red. in sen.*; 8) ff. 114v-115: *p. red. ad Quir.*; 9) ff. 115-116: *har. resp.*; 10) f. 116: *prov.*; 11) f. 116: *Vatin.*; 12) f. 116 r-v: *Cael.*; 13) ff. 116v-117: *exil.* <ps. ciceroniana> 14) f. 117 r-v: *dom.*; 15) ff. 117v-118: *Sest.*;

f. 118 <di altra mano>: «*Expliciunt quedam utilissima argumenta super XV orationibus M. Tullii Ciceronis, declarantia locos totius artis ipsarum orationum, per clarissimum virum Laurentium Bontium breviter collecta, ex dictis Gasparini Pergamensis, viri eloquentissimi, dum easdem orationes Padue legeret, anno D. N. J. C. MCCCC^oXX^o*»;

- IX) Cart.; mm. 210/160; ff. 129-130: s. XVIII, titolo;
 ff. 131-142: s. XV 3/4; umanistica *rotunda*, forse di mano del Filelfo; lettera
 del Filelfo a Bernardo Giustiniani, dat. Milano, id. sept. 1470: *Accipienti
 mihi arundinem...*;
 ff. 142v-146: bianchi;
 f. 146v: due distici: *Rinoceros ego sum, vicini fontis ad Indum*;
- X) Cart.; mm. 210/142; ff. 147-148: s. XVIII, titolo; ff. 149-160v: s. XV/1;
 scrittura umanistica corsiva, con elementi arcaici;
 L. Bruni, Bas., con dedica;
- XI) Cart.; mm. 210/152; ff. 161-162: s. XVIII, titolo;
 ff. 162-170v: s. XV 1/2, umanistica semilibraria, con iniziale miniata;
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- XII) Membr.; mm. 200/130; ff. 171-172, s. XVIII, titolo;
 ff. 173-180v: s. XV in., umanistica *rotunda*: *Opusculum Ludovici Pisauri de
 Amore*, in volgare («Era il solemne giorno ad Venere dedichato...»);
- XIII) Cart.; mm. 200/136; ff. 181-182, s. XVIII, contenuto;
 ff. 183-206v: s. XVI 1/2, scrittura molto corsiva; l'inchiostro rende spesso il
 testo illeggibile;
 «Quinti Marii Corradi et Petri Perpiniani epistolae datae et acceptae»;
- XIV) Cart.; mm. 200/150; ff. 207-208: s. XVIII, contenuto;
 ff. 209-220v: s. XVI in., corsiva italica;
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II

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R = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Chigi H VI 181, ff. 181v-196

Oratio in Lucio Pisonis <sic> cuius initium: «Iam vides belua».

Hec oratio est in genere demonstrativo, quia per totum agitur de sui laude et Pisonis vituperacione. In quot partes orationis consumatur inventio, certa dari ratio non potest, quia pars huius orationis deficit. Sed ponatur istud principium pro fragmento quodam exordii. Narratio nulla est. Divisio, confutacio, confirmacio pro nunc ponuntur locis signatis in textu. Similiter et conclusio.

De dispositione similiter, propter illud quod deest, nulla certa potest assignari ratio, licet, quantum apparet ex processu huius orationis, dici possit dispositionem ex arte proficisci. De locutione, quantum ad figuram attinet, dicitur quod oratio ista est in gravi figura.

In quo genere sit exordium, cum desit, dici non potest. Constitutio coniecturalis est. *Nam quid ego* <1,3>: divisio per distributionem et expositionem. *miserum me* <1,3>: prima pars divisionis confutata, dum de consolatu utriusque primo parto, deinde gesto dicit. *Sed omitto*: <2,4> in parte ista prosequitur confutationem, de gestis in consolatis. *Perduellio* <2,4>: est quedam species actionis in qua actor, si que obiciebat in reum non probabat, incurrebat in qua<m> penam reus incidisset. *Catulus* <3,6> princeps senatorii ordinis Cicerone<m> parentem patrie appellavit. *Exposui*<3,7>: transscio. *Lanista* <12,27>: a lanio, -nis, id est carnifex, sed hic accipitur pro siccario et homicida. *Ita admisarius* <28,69>: et emissarius est equus fortis, qui ad equas admittitur ad habendam ex illo sobolem. *Populari illi*: sic intelligendum est de Clodio: dicit Asconius.^a *Lex iudiciaria* <39,94> lata fuit ab Aurelio; qua cavebatur quod ex senatu, ex tribunis plebis, ex ordine equestri, ex deputatis erario, possint eligi iudices: dicit Asconius.^b *Pu. Rutilio* <39,95>: dum constans esset in tuenda causa publicanorum, conspirantibus in eum inimicis, in exilium missus est.

1. quia> quod R 2. quot> quod N In...inventio> De inventione R 3. quia> quod R 3-4. Sed...exordii om. R 4-5. et conclusio post confirmatio add. R 5. ponuntur om. R Similiter et conclusio om. R 6. deest> deficit R certa> ratio R 7-8. ratio...proficisci om. R 8. locutione> elocutione R quantum...attinet om. R 9. oratio ista> hec oratio R 10. In...potest om. R 12. confuta> in <qua> confutat R dum om. R 13. dicit om. R in parte ista> 2.a pars divisionis in qua R 14. confutationem om. R consolatis> consolatu R 15. probat> comprobabat R 16. incidisset> invidisset N Catulus> Catullus N 16-17. princeps...appellavit> quando et a quo parens patrie dictus fuit Cicero R 17. transscio om. R 19. admittitur> micitur R 20. ex> quum N sobolem> sobolum N intelligendum est> id est R ut ante dicit add. R 21. Aurelio> eurelia N eurelio cocta pretore R qua> prime N 22. quod> quo R senatu> stratu N 23. eligi> eligi R 23-25. post Asconius om. R

^a Asc. In Pis. 15, ed. Clark, p. 16, 20-22.

^b Asc. In Pis. 15, ibid., p. 17.

Alfonso TRAINA

I VERSI LATINI DI GREGORIO CORRER.
CONTRIBUTI A UN'EDIZIONE CRITICA

1. L'edizione critica è quella, recentissima, a cura di A. Onorato: Gregorio Correr, *Opere*, I (Messina, 1994).¹ I contributi riguardano il *Liber Satyrarum* e i *Carmina*, con esclusione della tragedia *Progne* (pp.159-218) sia perché la sua estensione (1060 versi) avrebbe richiesto troppo tempo e spazio, sia perché, essendo l'opera più nota e riuscita del Correr, ha suscitato maggiore interesse degli studiosi. Sono tutti lavori giovanili, composti entro il 1431 (il Correr era nato a Venezia nel 1409), tranne gli epitaffi per il Niccoli del 1437, e delle opere giovanili hanno l'acerbo sapore. Come, *mutatis mutandis*, le satire di Persio, uno dei suoi modelli, il giovane neofita stoico ancora imbevuto delle lezioni di Anneo Cornuto, come lo era il Correr di quelle di Vittorino da Feltre. E certo più Persio che Orazio, per quel che attiene alle *Satyrae* — sei quanto quelle di Persio — ricorda il suo latino spesso arduo e faticoso, proprio il contrario di quelle qualità che, con benigna litote, attribuiva ai suoi versi V. Cian: «non privi di eleganza e di scioltezza»² (più fluida l'*imitatio* virgiliana di alcuni *Carmina*). L'edizione dell'Onorato, che si raccomanda per l'accurato studio della tradizione manoscritta e dell'ambiente storico-culturale, e si basa soprattutto su M, un codice Marciano autografo del Correr, manca purtroppo di una traduzione, che ci aiuti a dipanare questo contorto ed ellittico latino.³ Per comprendere come e cosa abbia inteso l'editore non ci resta che affidarci alla sua interpunzione. Ma proprio questa ci ha suscitato le maggiori perplessità, segnando sotto questo profilo piuttosto un

¹ Data di stampa nel *recto* dell'ultima pagina: la data del Copyright nel *verso* del frontespizio è 1991. Il II volume (1994) contiene le opere in prosa.

² *La satira. Dal Medioevo al Pontano* (Milano, 1923), p. 424.

³ Un solo esempio. *Sat.* 1, 6-7 (il poeta parla dei suoi *puerilia*): «Tempus curaeque tulerunt / omnia, sermone hoc, quo me garrere fatebor.» La valenza sintattica di *sermone hoc* è chiarita solo dalla chiosa autografa *excepto* (R. Sabbadini, che non ne disponeva, manifestò il suo imbarazzo esegetico chiosando *quo* con (*quod?*): cfr. 'Briciole umanistiche', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 46 (1905), 65-69, dove riporta due epitaffi e i vv. 1-20 della I satira).

regresso rispetto alle poche e non critiche edizioni precedenti,⁴ come avremo occasione di constatare.

2. – *Sat.* 1, 115-21: Tali Lucillius olim
 carmine narratur populum carpsisse viritim,
 siquis erat pravi possessor nominis, ut nunc
 Franchinus Rabia, nostro qui munere vivet;
 siquid res nostrae possunt sperare favoris,
 compluresque alii, quos nunc fortuna superbos 120
 et tutos facit a nostris sermonibus esse.

Alla fine del v.118, dopo *vivet*, sostituire la virgola al punto e virgola, che spezza la coordinazione fra *qui vivet* e *compluresque alii* (così anche Berrigan).

- *Sat.* 2, 44-45: Siquis avariciam dicat deus, en ego tollo,
 contineas versus?

Il verso rischia di essere incomprensibile se non si virgolettano «avariciam» ed «en ego tollo» come parole del *deus*: «Tolgo di mezzo l'avarizia» («en ego tollo», lacerto ovidiano, *am.* 3, 2, 26, come annota l'editore, ma qui in senso translato, incrociato con *Hor. serm.* 1, 1, 15: «Siquis deus: 'En ego' dicat», sfuggito all'editore).⁵ Lo conferma *serm.* 4,31-32:» Siquis deus, en ego tollo / uno omnis, illum demens se dixerit», da interpretarsi:

⁴ Ho consultato, seguendo la bibliografia dell'Onorato (p. 105-6, cui però è sfuggita la II satira tradotta dal Moschini): J. R. Berrigan, 'Gregorii Corrarum Liber Satyrarum', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 22 (1973), 10-38; 'Sermone latino di G. Corraro ora per la prima volta pubblicato con la traduzione italiana di G. Moschini' (satira II), in *Componimenti di varj autori publicati nelle nozze Comello-Papadopuli* (Venezia, 1821), pp. 101-113; *Della importanza di fuggire le colpe leggiere. Sermone di G. Corraro pubblicato e tradotto per la prima volta da G. Moschini nelle nozze Gradenigo-Dolfin* (satira III) (Venezia, 1809); *La buona condotta della vita può solo tenere in freno le lingue del volgo. Sermone di G. Corraro pubblicato e tradotto per la prima volta da G. Moschini nelle nozze Da Mula-Lavagnoli* (satira V) (Venezia, 1809); 'Gregorii Corrarum Veneti Ad Andream fratrem Quomodo educari et erudiri debeant pueri (carne II)', in C. De' Rosmini, *Idea dell'ottimo precettore nella vita di Vittorino da Feltre e dei suoi discepoli* (Bassano, 1801), pp. 477-87; *Dell'educare la prole. Poemetto latino di G. Corraro patrizio veneto volgarizzato per la prima volta e dato in luce da G. Moschini nelle nozze Brozolo Milizia-Buzzacarini* (Venezia, 1804); E. Garin, 'Il poema pedagogico di G. Correr', in *Il pensiero pedagogico dello Umanesimo* (Firenze, 1958), pp. 706-13; *Gregorii Corrarum Hymnus ad pueros et virgines Martino V P.M. dicatus, nunc primum editus* (a V. Lazari) (Venetiis, 1853).

⁵ Il Moschini traduce bene; il Berrigan tradisce la sua perplessità interponendo: «Si quis avariciam dicat deus, en ego tollo... / Contineas versus?»

«Se un dio (dicesse): 'Tolgo di mezzo tutti (tranne)⁶ uno', quel pazzo (di Rabia) direbbe che quello è lui».

- *Sat.* 2, 49-51: *redde fidem, ius fasque animis et tempora prima, cum tecto augusto cernebat curia patres intonsos. Ego vel satyram depono libenter.*

Dopo «intonsos» metterei due punti: si tratta di un periodo ipotetico paratattico, di cui la protasi è «redde» e l'apodosi «depono»: «restituischi..., e io depongo».

- *Sat.* 2, 59-61: *Non scribo hoc tabulis atque omni figo superne quadrvio? Ut cuncti videant pueri atque puellae a furno aut puteo redeuntes.*

Il punto interrogativo va spostato dopo «redeuntes», essendo «ut... videant» una finale dipendente da «scribo» (così anche Berrigan; Moschini interpunge come l'Onorato ma traduce bene).

- *Sat.* 2, 64-66: *Fama gaudes; dispulverer hoc si de quoquam, postquam nullus non vicus in urbe est qui sciat. Illudo membranais.*

Il senso mi pare: «Devo essere polverizzato («dispulverer»)⁷, se scrivo («illudo membranais») di uno ciò che sanno tutti?». Allora virgola e non punto tra «sciat» e «illudo».

- *Sat.* 2, 83-84: *Quisquis es, hoc laudo et conor ne ludibrio sim. Qui luscus, lusce, dicam.*

«Qui dicam» è relativa causale dipendente da «ne ludibrio sim», dopo il quale andrà virgola e non punto. «Lusce», vocativo, va virgolettato.⁸

⁶ Chiosa autografa: *excepto*, come in *Sat.* 1, 6 (vd. n. 3). Anche qui il Berrigan non ha inteso bene, staccando la protasi dall'apodosi.

⁷ *Hapax* neviano (*com.* 54 Ribb³), che il Correr attingeva a Nonio (p. 135 Lindsay), ma in senso figurato. Non lo ha compreso il Moschini, traducendo: «Eh! sì che chiaro andrai ove tu giunga / con le satire tue a rovinarmi».

⁸ «Luscē» (da Pers. 1, 128) è errore prosodico non rilevato: vd. *infra*, §4. L'assenza di virgolette che scandiscano il dialogo — o il monologo — è purtroppo frequente e complica la decifrazione del testo. Ecco alcune proposte di restituzione. *Sat.* 3, 27: 'Hic melius'; 6, 9-13: «'O here... sine rugis', «'At... obiurges'»; 6, 95: l'ultimo verso, che «conclude [la satira], come in *Hor. serm.* 2, 7, con l'intervento del poeta che pone fine al monologo di Davo» (p. 256). Viceversa in *Sat.* 4, 55: «Iratus clamet Phalaris: 'Non vincula, nec mors / terrorem obiciunt sapienti'», depennare le virgolette prima di *non*, che introduce non le parole di Falaride, ma l'apodosi paratattica di cui «clamet» è la protasi. Sintagma frequente nel Correr, non sempre colto dall'editore (vd. *supra*, *Sat.* 49-51).

- *Sat.* 4, 5-6: Quorsum haec? Si tot tibi fascēs
 librorum mortis nequeunt evellere curas?
Dopo *haec* virgola e non punto interrogativo (così Berrigan).
- *Sat.* 4, 22: At sentis: animi sibimet divellere non quit.
«Sentis» non è verbo, ma sostantivo, accusativo plurale di «sentis», sinonimo di «spinas» che il Correr ricordava da *Hor. epist.* 1, 14, 4-5: «certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu / evellas agro?» Il Berrigan tacitamente corregge «sentis» in «sontis».
- *Sat.* 4, 103-5: Eia, sine morbis
 do senium, quale in nostris proavis fuit olim!
 Multa videnda manenti in longa aetate.⁹
Dopo «olim» due punti: anche a chi ha una vecchiaia senza malanni tocca vedere molte cose che non vorrebbe.
- *Sat.* 4, 129: il testo è troppo lungo per essere trascritto, coinvolgendo i vv. 125-33, che costituiscono un unico periodo ipotetico, la cui protasi si snoda attraverso quattro coordinate (vv. 127-130): «si sorbeat..., nolit..., dormiat..., provocet...». Va dunque sostituito con la virgola il punto che spezza il v. 129.
- *Sat.* 4, 182-5: Compilasse putes ne me quod Testa solebat,
 scilicet oblitum finis garrire diu iam,
 vir bonus et prudens iussus decedere vita
 tamquam depositum reddet.

I casi sono due: o «ne» è l'enclitica interrogativa («nē»), come sembra intendere l'editore segnalando in nota l'arbitrario allungamento, e allora si dovrà porre punto interrogativo dopo «iam», e iniziare un nuovo periodo con «Vir bonus» (come Berrigan, che legge «putesne» ma contraddittoriamente segna punto fermo dopo «solebat»); o «nē» nega «putes», e allora la punteggiatura è corretta, ma scorretta la nota prosodica. Nonostante l'anormale *collocatio verborum*, terrei per la seconda ipotesi, considerando che qui si avrebbe un rarissimo allungamento in tesi (cfr. *Introduzione*, p. 157), che altrove la quantità di «-ne», quando sia riconoscibile, è sempre breve (*Sat.* 3, 50; 6, 86; *Carm.* 2,61)¹⁰,

⁹ Per gli ipotesi di questo verso vd. *infra*, §6.

¹⁰ Resta il caso (non segnalato) di *Sat. App.* 35-37: «Non tulit hic notum quandam de gente togata / clamantem: 'quis ne cruce dignior, aut miser aequae / usquam hominum in terris?», dove «nē» non può essere né particella interrogativa allungata (dopo un pronome interrogativo), né negativa (in assenza di un congiuntivo), né affermativa («davvero», in assenza di un pronome successivo). Correggere «te»?

e che il modo atteso con l'interrogativa è l'indicativo (cfr. *Sat.* 4,87 e *Hor. serm.* 1, 2, 77; 2, 3, 302), mentre «ne putes» si ha nel modello oraziano (sfuggito all'editore) di *serm.* 1, 1, 121-22: «ne me Crispini scrinia lippi / compilasse putes».

- *Sat.* 5, 76-9: Quid ad te
quod latret canis ad postes? Cum nolis¹¹ aperta
deportare domo, si possis, quippiam et horres
alterius tetigisse aliquid?

Anche qui si tratta di un unico periodo interrogativo, che richiede un solo punto interrogativo finale¹² (così Berrigan).

- *Carm.* 1, 7-8: Crudelis puer ille, quidem crudelior illo
durus amor.

Spostare la virgola dopo «quidem», che determina il lessema precedente e non il seguente («ille quidem» è nesso paradigmatico: nove occorrenze in Virgilio).

- *Carm.* 2, 103-4: Non ita quod pueri libeat, caedantur adulti
supplicio servili.

Togliere la virgola tra «libeat» e «caedantur», e intendere: «non ita libeat quod pueri adulti caedantur» (anche stavolta Moschini interpunge male e traduce bene).

- *Carm.* 2, 227-8: Ergo illis foris¹³ imperium gentesque subactae
iura domi et mores, rebusque experta iuventus.
Virgola alla fine del v. 227, dopo «subiectae» (contrasto tra «foris» e «domi»; così anche Moschini).

- *Carm.* 3, 41-52: è un unico periodo di tre strofe, va quindi depennato il punto alla fine della seconda strofa (v. 48), che separerebbe la subordinata («si... auxit») dalla principale («Serus in caelum redeat»), e sostituito con la virgola (o al massimo col punto e virgola, come Lazari).

- *Carm.* 6, 5-6: Ecquid ubi aspicias Nicolai nomina, lector,
deesse viro, laudes forte querere suas?

Non ha senso la virgola fra il dativo «viro» e l'accusativo «laudes», entrambi determinativi di «deesse».

¹¹ Per *nolis* vd. *infra*, §4.

¹² Così anche in *Carm.* 2, 105-8: «Quid enim, cum iurgia temnat, / et semel e nudo deiecerit ore ruborem, / horrescat? Suetus flagris ut pessima quaeque / mancipia?», dove Moschini, De' Rosmini e Garin concordemente virgolano dopo «horrescat».

¹³ Per la prosodia vd. *infra*, §4.

3. In altri casi non basta correggere l'interpunzione, bisogna correggere il testo per renderlo intelleggibile. Un esempio lo abbiamo già visto in *Sat. App.* 36 (vd. n. 10). Emblematico è *Sat. App.* 47-52:

Fiat adulter

quivis, me nitidi facies scorti tenet, haec si
coeperit emungi, sive haec male tu sciet heus tu
quaere alium, mulier, patronum, quando et enim scis
inter nos olim convenerat et iubet hoc lex:
quae placet accedat, quae non placet exeat.

Stampare un testo che affianca un pronome di seconda persona a un verbo di terza («tu sciet»), è una sfida non solo alla filologia, ma al buon senso. Il senso si recupera recuperando gli ipotesti (*Hor. serm.* 2, 5, 107: «male tussiet»; *Iuv.* 6, 147: «iam gravis es nobis et saepe emungeris, exi»; *Phaedr. app.* 3, 15: «[meretrix] emungere se volens»), e dunque correggendo e interpungendo il v. 49: «sive haec male tussiet: 'Heus tu ...'». Il poeta, seguendo un vecchio precetto plautino (*Curc.* 37-8) e oraziano (*serm.* 1, 2, 28 sgg. e 116 sgg.) preferisce alla moglie altrui la «meretrix», che si può licenziare ai primi sgradevoli sintomi di malattia (soffiarsi il naso e tossire).

Sicuro direi l'emendamento anche in *Sat.* 3, 31: «relligio nummorum et porrecta sacculus arca», dove l'ametrico «nummorum», non rilevato dall'editore (e nemmeno da Berrigan), appare normalizzazione e banalizzazione di «nummum» (presente per esempio in *Hor. epist.* 2, 2, 31). In *Sat.* 4, 180-1: «formidat mortem nimirum conscius actae / nequiciae vitae», «nequiciae» può intendersi come genitivo retto da «consci» e reggente «actae vitae», ma la costruzione sintattica si semplificherebbe col semplice emendamento «nequiciā» (l'errore si dovrebbe a perseverazione desinenziale). Incerto sarei anche per *Sat.* 5, 91: «Nam [vulgus] ferit interdum vanis rumoribus auras». Trattandosi di chiacchiere della gente, ci attenderemmo «aures», paradigmatico nel nesso «aures ferire» (cfr. *Thes. ling. Lat.* s.v., 513,30 sgg., che non registra esempi di «aures ferire»)¹⁴, tanto più che identica clausola ricorre in Paolino da Nola (*carm.* 26, 30, citato dal *Thesaurus*): «quamvis... fama... pavidas feriat rumoribus aures», e in altri poeti tardolatini.¹⁵

Un caso particolare è *Sat.* 4, 79-81: «iussit / ad lectum gemmas, aurum deferier atque / argentum». L'inesistente e comunque ametrico

¹⁴ Caso mai di «aethera ferire», ma con «clamor» (*Verg. Aen.* 5, 140).

¹⁵ Cfr. O. Schumann, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon* (München, 1981), IV, 541.

«deferier» è lezione di **M** (conservata anche da Berrigan) e degli altri codici tranne **Vc**, un veneziano «rivisto, corretto e postillato dal Correr» (p.113), che ha «deferrier», cioè l'atteso infinito passivo di «defero» con desinenza arcaizzante. Quello che l'Onorato prende per un «banale lapsus calami» (p.132) mi sembra legittima correzione d'autore.

4. La prosodia del Correr è spesso scorretta e incoerente (tipica la compresenza in *Sat.* 4, 87: «*aēgrotare putas morbo? Est ne hic inter ēgrotos*»), e l'editore non manca di segnalarlo in nota. Ma non sempre. Gli sono sfuggiti «*āt ego*» in *Sat.* 1, 74 (segnalato invece «*āt autumnus*» in *Sat.* 1, 18); «*offendīs? Homo*» in *Sat.* 2, 8; «*luscē, dicam*», in *Sat.* 2, 84; «*mancīpia*» in *Sat.* 3, 103; «*praeceptōr hic*» in *Sat.* 3, 108; «*laterīs et*» in *Sat.* 4, 138; «*renuē, remque*» in *Sat.* 5,43; «*nolīs aperta*» in *Sat.* 5,77; «*fastidīs, Iolla*» in *Carm.* 1, 68 (ma qui la mancata segnalazione è dovuta all'errata scansione, vd. *infra*); «*forīs aequora*» in *Carm.* 2, 214 (ma segnalato «*forīs imperium*», *ibid.* 227). In compenso, «*rabiē*», segnalato come scorretto in nota a *Carm.* 3, 51, ha la regolare desinenza in «-ē» dei temi in «-ē-».

Lo statuto di queste anomalie non è omogeneo. Nella maggior parte dei casi si tratta di allungamento in arsi davanti a cesura (generalmente semiquinaria), praticato dalla poesia classica, sia pure in minor misura, e frequente nei poeti mediolatini. E si noti che fra i lessemi soggetti a *productio*, «*laterīs*» e «*renuē*» evitano il tribraco. «*Mancīpia*» rientra nella categoria dei quadri- e pentasillabi manipolati, già nella poesia tardoantica, per farli entrare nell'esametro.¹⁶ Quanto agli abbreviamenti, «*nolīs*» e «*fastidīs*» sono analogici della terza persona in «-it», cfr. Verg. *ecl.* 2, 73: «*sic te hic fastidit, Alexin*», che è il modello, sfuggito all'editore, del nostro verso. «*Forīs*» ha precedenti in Venanzio Fortunato (cfr. *Thes. ling. Lat.* s.v., 440, 26 sg.).

Della metrica del Correr l'Onorato parla a p. 157, notando con sorpresa la frequenza di esametri spondaici (sette) nel carme 1, contro l'unica occorrenza, per altro denunziata dalla chiosa dello stesso Correr, nella restante poesia esametrica. In realtà, si tratta di esametri normali, dove l'antroponimo in clausola, di ascendenza virgiliana (*ecl.* 2, 57; 3, 76 e 79), «*Iollas*», è evidentemente scandito dall'editore come bisillabo anziché come trisillabo («*Iollas*», greco *Ἰόλλας*). E questo gli ha impedito

¹⁶ Cfr. i miei *Poeti latini (e neolatini)*, II (Bologna, 1991²), pp. 168 e 183; III (Bologna, 1989), p. 216. La retta prosodia di «*mancīpia*» in *Sat.* 2, 108, citato nella n. 12.

anche di notare lo iato prosodico di *Carm.* 1, 78: «Te Lycidās, ò Iollas», esemplato su Verg. *ecl.* 2, 65: «te Corydon, o Alexi» (manca anche questo riscontro).

5. Non è mia intenzione occuparmi del latino del Correr, che non sembra discostarsi dai parametri, morfologici e sintattici, del latino umanistico. Vorrei solo fare qualche precisazione a quanto dice l'Onorato a proposito dei neologismi (p. 156). Nelle *Satyrae* e nei *Carmina* l'Onorato ne individua tre: due legittimi, «boreat», denominativo di «Boreas» (*Sat.* 6,39), e «rusor», chiosato «fenerator» in F (*Sat.* 5,30 sg.)¹⁷, entrambi assenti nei più autorevoli lessici mediolatini (per il secondo penserei a un dialettismo, data l'esistenza in area veneta di un verbo «rus(s)are» = «grattare», fecondo di esiti metaforici).¹⁸ Il terzo, illegittimo, «l'avverbio 'amplustre'», senza riscontro nel tardo- e mediolatino, che conosce solo, come il latino classico, «il sostantivo 'amplustre, gubernaculum navis'». Appunto: «amplustre» è sostantivo e non avverbio in *Carm.* 2, 220: «amplustre aut tabulas ereptaque rostra carinis», accusativo come «tabulas» e «rostra» (Moschini non lo traduce; De' Rosmini e Garin stampano «amplustrum»).

Mancano all'appello «briacus» ed «effossor». Il primo (*Sat.* 4, 38: «ut satur e mensa briacus conviva solebat [decedere]»), da scandirsi o «brīācus» o «brjācus», sarà un italianismo («briaco» è attestato sin dal XIII secolo), aferesi del latino volgare e tardo «ebriācus» (cfr. Non. p. 154 Linds.: «ebriacus, ebrius»). Il Berrigan, evidentemente non italofono, lo spiega con una non del tutto improbabile tmesi: «e- mensa -briacus». «Effossor» (*Carm.* 2, 166) è un neologismo solo rispetto al latino antico, ma non una neoformazione (quali appaiono «boreat» e «rusor»), essendo attestato in Francia nel IX secolo¹⁹, e d'altronde potenzialmente vivo nell'equazione paradigmatica «fodio: fossor = effodio: x».

6. È meritoria fatica dell'editore avere raccolto in un apposito apparato i tanti rinvii ai modelli classici. Meritoria anche perché l'identificazione dell'ipotesto è spesso utile, se non addirittura necessaria

¹⁷ Il Berrigan, che fonda la sua edizione su M, annota: «what does the word mean?»; il Moschini inventa la traduzione: «Chi tocca pece, è certo se n'imbratta, / Sebben cauto la tratti e la maneggi».

¹⁸ *Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana*, s.v. Nel friulano il derivato «russambrs» significa «ozioso, perdigiorno» (*Il Nuovo Pirone. Vocabolario friulano* (Udine, 1972)).

¹⁹ A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du Moyen-Âge* (Turnhout, 1975), s.v.

all'esegesi, come si è avuta più volte occasione di constatare nel corso della nostra ricerca.²⁰ Le fitte liste dell'editore non esauriscono, né lo potrebbero, i debiti del Correr. Qualche integrazione l'abbiamo già fatta. Eccone alcune altre, che in parte confermano, in parte ampliano il regesto degli *auctores* utilizzati dal Correr.

Sat. 1, 99-100: «Atqui decet esse pudicum / scriptorem, versus nil est opus»: cfr. Catull. 16, 5-6. *Sat.* 2, 1: «Sunt quibus infestus videar nimiumque protervus»: cfr. Hor. *serm.* 2, 1, 1. *Sat.* 2, 62: «Ohe» in clausola e seguito da enjambement viene da Hor. *serm.* 1, 5, 12. *Sat.* 3, 109: «Lavare un etiope» per designare un'azione inutile è locuzione proverbiale bene attestata in greco, ma presente anche nella *Vulgata* (Jer. 13, 23) e in Girolamo.²¹ *Sat.* 4, 105: «Multa videnda manenti in longa aetate»: l'editore rimanda a «longa aetate» di Hor. *serm.* 1, 4, 132 e Ov. *fast.* 4, 831, dove la *iunctura* è al nominativo, ma il sintagma e il ritmo metrico-verbale ricalcano Catull. 76, 5: «multa parata manent in longa aetate». Nella cornice catulliana il Correr ha incastonato un'amara massima di Cecilio Stazio (173 sgg. Ribb³.) riportata da Cicerone (*Cato* 25): «edepol, senectus, si nil quicquam aliud viti / adportes tecum, cum advenis, unum id sat est, / quod diu vivendo multa quae non volt videt». *Sat.* 4, 118: la clausola «totus in illos» è parechesi di Hor. *serm.* 1, 9, 2: «totus in illis». *Sat.* 4, 120: «dira libido» è *iunctura* più antica di Pers. 3,36, risalendo a Lucr. 4, 1046.²² *Sat.* 6, 39: «sum Davus»: cfr. Ter. *Andr.* 194: «Davos sum, non Oedipus» (passato in proverbio). *Carm.* 1, 45-47: l'anafora di «ambo» per qualificare ciò che accomuna i due pastori-cantori viene da Verg. *ecl.* 7, 4 (cfr. anche 5, 1-2). *Carm.* 1, 85: «scythicas durare pruinas» sarà anche clausola lucanea (4, 59), ma l'etnico viene da Floro, 4 Bl.: «Scythicas pati pruinas», un frammento poetico che il Correr poteva leggere nella *Historia Augusta* (Spart. *Hadr.* 16, 3). *Carm.* 1, 91: «Ha Lycida, Lycida, quae te dementia coepit!»: cfr. per l'analogia formale e referenziale Verg. *ecl.* 2, 69: «A Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!». *Carm.* 2, 5: i «tedia» portati alla gestante dai «longi menses» sono una *variatio* lessicale di Verg. *ecl.* 4, 61: «matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses». *Carm.* 2, 44: l'incipitario «Contemplator» evoca il tono didascalico di Verg. *georg.* 1, 187.

²⁰ Aggiungerei *Sat.* 6, 58: «leva feriente mamilla», in riferimento a Iuv. 7, 159, e *Carm.* 2, 104-5: «quod, si tempora mutes, / convenit iniuria», in riferimento a Quint. *inst.* 1, 3, 14.

²¹ Cfr. R. Tosi, *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche* (Milano, 1994¹⁰), p. 205.

²² Ne ho tracciato la storia in *Poeti latini*, II, 11 sgg.

Carm. 2, 268: «iungantur delphines equis» varia ed esaspera (per la radicale diversità degli *habitat*) l'*adynaton* di Verg. *ecl.* 8, 27: «iungantur iam grypes equis», mentre i delfini provengono da un altro quadro di «mondo alla rovescia», Hor. *ars* 30: «delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum». Siamo ai limiti del centone.

7. Più volte l'Onorato cita, ma sempre indirettamente (pp. 65, 77, 79), il giudizio del Bembo sulle opere del Correr, in una lettera ad Angelo Gabriele del 1527, più di sessant'anni dopo la sua morte. Val la pena di trascrivere il passo: «Ovvi risposto assai tardo perciò che io ho voluto fornir di veder le cose del vostro Corrarò, gentil poeta e molto da bene e santo uomo. Le quali vi mando corrette dove ho creduto che faccia uopo, secondo che ho saputo il meglio. La Tragedia è bella, e molto belle le Satyre. Altro de' suoi poemi poco mi piace. Ma sopra tutto non lascerei uscìr fuori quelli Epigrammi, i quali tutti meritano le tenebre, se pure non si dovesse avere alcun risguardo al primiero. Le prose sono da buono ecclesiastico e religioso. Tuttavia hanno delle cose che mancano nella latinità: le quali a voler correggere sarebbe più tosto un por la falce nell'altrui biada».²³ È un testo interessante, non tanto per il vario e anche troppo benevolo giudizio (almeno per le *Satyrae*), quanto per la preziosa notizia di un esemplare corretto di mano del Bembo, che di latino e di prosodia latina s'intendeva certo più del giovane Correr (come salta agli occhi scorrendo i suoi limpidi *Carmina*). È reperibile questo esemplare, o si sono fatte ricerche per reperirlo?²⁴

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²³ P. Bembo, *Lettere*, edizione critica a cura di E. Travi, II (Bologna, 1990), pp. 471-2 (ma nell'Indice dei nomi, p. 588, l'editore ha scambiato Gregorio Correr con lo zio Antonio).

²⁴ Devo a Roberta Strati il reperimento della bibliografia esistente nelle biblioteche di Padova e preziosi suggerimenti esegetici.

Jan ÖBERG

VOM HUMANISMUS ZUM TRADITIONALISMUS.
DIE EINWIRKUNG DER POLITISCHEN,
GESELLSCHAFTLICHEN UND KIRCHLICHEN VERHÄLTNISSE
AUF DAS KULTURLEBEN IN SCHWEDEN AM BEISPIEL
VON KORT ROGGE (UM 1420-1501)

1. HINTERGRÜNDE UND VORAUSSETZUNGEN¹

Im 9. Jahrhundert fanden Missionare aus dem Erzbistum Hamburg-Bremen ihren Weg nach Schweden. So schildert Rimbart in seiner *Vita Anskarii*, wie Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts Ansgar den internationalen Handelsplatz im Reiche der Svear, Birka (*Birca*), und ihren König Björn (*Bero*) besuchte, um dort eine christliche Gemeinde zu errichten. Die Ansgarmission hatte indessen wenig Erfolg. Die wirkliche Christianisierung Schwedens war ein langsamer Vorgang — erst im 11. Jahrhundert ging die Wikingerzeit zu Ende und begann das Christentum in diesen entlegenen Teilen Europas festen Fuss zu fassen. Noch um 1075 beschreibt jedoch Adam von Bremen in seinen *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesie pontificum* den weitberühmten Tempel zu Uppsala, den Mittelpunkt der heidnischen Götterverehrung, und die hier ausgeübten Riten. Als der Tempel um 1090 abgerissen wurde, waren soeben die ersten päpstlichen

¹ Allgemeine Handbücher und Nachschlagewerke mit Bibliographien sind I. Andersson, *Schwedische Geschichte. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (München, 1950); J. Rosén, *Svensk historia* 1 (2. Aufl., Stockholm, 1964); *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* (Malmö, 1956-1978), u.a. die Artikel *Diplomspråk*, *Latin*, *Latinsk litteratur*, *Missionsverksamhet*, *Rimofficium*, *Trosskiftet*; C. I. Ståhle, 'Medeltidens profana litteratur', B. Klockars, 'Medeltidens religiösa litteratur', und S. Lindroth, 'Reformation och humanism', in *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria* 1 (2. Aufl., Stockholm, 1967); S. Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria* 1. *Medeltiden, Reformationstiden* (Stockholm, 1975); H. Aili, 'Sweden', in *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. M. Skafte Jensen (Kopenhagen, 1995), Ss. 129-58; vgl. J. Öberg, 'Medieval and Neo-Latin Studies in 20th century Scandinavia', in *La Filologia Medievale e Umanistica Greca e Latina nel secolo XX. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Università La Sapienza, 11-15 dicembre 1989*, 2 Bde (Rom, 1993), II, 997-1008 — Wichtige antike, mittelalterliche und frühhumanistische Quellen zur Geschichte Schwedens sind gesammelt in J. Svennung, *Från senantik och medeltid*, I-II (Lund, 1963); *Röster från svensk medeltid*, ed. H. Aili, O. Ferm, H. Gustavson (Stockholm, 1990).

Schreiben bei dem schwedischen König angekommen. Die neue Religion brachte das lateinische Alphabet mit sich, das in den meisten Belangen die Runen ersetzte,² und zugleich auch das Latein als die Sprache der christlichen Liturgie. Erweiterte Kenntnisse des Lateinischen erwiesen sich nach Errichtung der dem Papsttum direkt unterstellten Bistümern notwendig, um ein adäquates Verständigungsmittel für Kontakte mit der Kurie und den übrigen christlichen Ländern zu erhalten. Die Kulturentwicklung ging in dem christianisierten Schweden langsam vor sich, auch im Vergleich zum Nachbarland Dänemark.

In der Geschichte der mittellateinischen (und auch altschwedischen) Literatur unseres Heimatlandes fällt die Blütezeit einigermaßen in die zweite Hälfte des 13. und vor allem in das ganze 14. Jahrhundert. Beachtenswerte Namen sind z.B. der Dominikaner Petrus de Dacia (nach 1230-1289), der seinen Ruhm auf ein der ekstatischen deutschen Bauerntochter Christina von Stommeln gewidmetes Gedicht mit beigefügtem theologisch-philosophischem Kommentar und auf seinen Briefwechsel mit derselben Begine gegründet hat, sowie Brynolpus Algoti (Brynolf Algotsson; um 1240-1317), Bischof von Skara und liturgischer Dichter.³ Im 14. Jahrhundert liegt der literarische Schwerpunkt auf der heiligen Birgitta (1304-1373), ihren *Revelaciones*⁴ und verschiedenen birgittinischen Texten wie den ihr zu Ehren verfassten Reimoffizien vom Erzbischof Birgerus Gregorii (Birger Gregersson; um 1327-1383)⁵ und dem Linköpinger Bischof Nicolaus Hermanni (Nils Hermansson; um 1326-1391).⁶

Auch im Schweden des 15. Jahrhunderts wurden denkwürdige Beiträge zur mittellateinischen Literatur hervorgebracht. Ich erinnere nur an die beiden Reden, die der Bischof von Växjö und künftige Erzbischof Nicolaus

² Siehe H. Gustavson, 'Coincidentia oppositorum — latin med runor. Några grammatiska och fonematiska iakttagelser', in *Symbolae Septentrionales. Latin Studies Presented to Jan Öberg*, ed. M. Asztalos — C. Gejrot (Stockholm, 1995), Ss. 203-15 (Ss. 203-8).

³ Die Texte in M. Asztalos, *Petrus de Dacia. De gratia naturam ditante sive De virtutibus Christinae Stumbelesensis* (Stockholm, 1982), und *Petrus de Dacia om Christina från Stommeln. En kärleks historia* (Uppsala, 1991; mit textkritischer Ausgabe von Petrus' Briefen); und G. E. Klemming, *Latinska sånger* (Stockholm, 1885-1887). Vgl. I. Milveden, 'Neue Funde zur Brynolpus-Kritik', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* 54 (Uppsala, 1972), 5-51.

⁴ Ed. B. Ghotan (Lübeck, 1492); neue, textkritische Ausgabe Uppsala-Lund-Stockholm, 1956 — (edd. H. Aili, B. Bergh, S. Eklund, L. Hollman, A.-M. Jönsson, C.G. Undhagen).

⁵ C.G. Undhagen, ed., *Birger Gregerssons Birgitta-officium* (Uppsala, 1960).

⁶ Vorläufige Edition von T. Lundén, *Nikolaus Hermansson, biskop av Linköping. En litteratur- och kyrkohistorisk studie* (Lund, 1971).

Ragvaldi (Nils Ragvaldsson; um 1380-1448) auf dem Konzil zu Basel 1434 über die Goten als die ruhmvollen Vorfahren der Schweden bzw. 1435 in Arras bei den Friedensverhandlungen im Hundertjahrkrieg zwischen England und Frankreich hielt,⁷ und die weitschweifige, von gotizistischen Gedankengängen durchsäuerte *Chronica regni Gothorum* vom Kanonikus Ericus Olai (Erik Olofsson; um 1420-1486),⁸ später Dekan und Professor für Theologie an der neugegründeten Universität zu Uppsala. Tatsächlich dauert in unserem Lande die mittelalterliche Periode bis zu Gustav Vasas Königswahl 1523 und der darauf folgenden Reformation 1527. Erst mit den hochinteressanten Briefen und den einflussreichen Geschichtswerken aus der Zeit 1524-1555 von den landesflüchtigen Brüdern Olaus und Johannes Magnus, den letzten katholischen Erzbischöfen Schwedens,⁹ verlassen wir das Mittelalter und überschreiten wir die Schwelle zur skandinavischen Neuzeit.

2. DER UPPSALAER KANONIKUS KORT ROGGE IM ITALIEN DER RENAISSANCE

Zeitgenosse des eben genannten Historikers und Theologen Ericus Olai war Kort Rogge (um 1420-1501), ab 1479 Bischof von Strängnäs und Reichskanzler.¹⁰ Während (der uppländische Bauernsohn?) Ericus Olai 1452 nach fünf Jahren (anfänglich vielleicht vom Erzbischof Nicolaus Ragvaldi finanziell unterstützt) die Universität Rostock als *magister*

⁷ Ed. Svennung, *Från senantik och medeltid*, I, 174-80, und E. Odelman, 'Det storsvenska prisas', in *Röster från svensk medeltid*, Ss. 286-98, bzw. B. Losman, 'Fredstalen i Arras 1435', *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 67 (Uppsala, 1968), 58-65.

⁸ E. Heuman und J. Öberg, edd., *Ericus Olai. Chronica regni Gothorum. Textkritische Ausgabe* (Stockholm, 1993); J. Öberg, *Ericus Olai. Chronica regni Gothorum II. Prolegomena und Indizes* (Stockholm, 1995).

⁹ G. Buschbell, ed., *Briefe von Johannes und Olaus Magnus* (Stockholm, 1932); B. Larsson, ed., *Johannes Magnus' Latin Letters. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (Lund, 1992) — vgl. M. Asztalos, 'Johannes Magnus, Dreamer and Visionary', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 42 (1993), 259-73; Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Rom, 1555; Faksimil-Ausgabe Kopenhagen, 1972) — vgl. K. Isacson, 'A Study of Non-Classical Features in Book XV of Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, 1555*', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 38 (1989), 176-99; Johannes Magnus, *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (Rom, 1554; Auszüge davon in *Scriptores rerum Suecicarum* III:1, Uppsala, 1871, und in Svennung, *Från senantik och medeltid*, I, Ss. 201-8), und *Historia pontificum metropolitanae ecclesiae Upsalensis* (1544; *Scriptores rerum Suecicarum* III:2, Uppsala, 1876).

¹⁰ M. Collmar, *Strängnäs stifts herdaminne 1. Medeltiden* (Nyköping, 1977), Ss. 92-104; vgl. *Svenska män och kvinnor. Biografisk uppslagsbok*, 6 (Stockholm, 1949), Ss. 308-9.

artium verliess und später, nach erneutem Studium an der Universität zu Siena, 1475 seine Doktorwürde in Theologie erwarb, studierte Kort Rogge, Sohn eines aus Westfalen stammenden, in Stockholm wirkenden, wohlhabenden Kaufmannes und der Tochter eines gleichfalls aus Deutschland gebürtigen Stockholmer Bürgers, Hans Horn, zuerst in Leipzig, wo er nach drei Jahren 1449 *baccalaureus in artibus* wurde; in demselben Jahr erhielt er ein Kanonikat am Uppsalaer Dom. Dank seines persönlichen Vermögens konnte er später fünf Jahre an der Universität zu Perugia verbringen, um dort 1460 den Grad eines *doctor decretorum* zu erreichen. — Während seines Aufenthaltes in Italien besuchte er auch Siena, wo er mit dem Bischof von Åbo zusammentraf; bei diesem hat er ein zweites Kanonikat und ein Pfarramt in der finnländischen Diözese ausgewirkt. — In dem gelehrten, italienischen Milieu hat Rogge, wieder aufgrund seines materiellen Wohlstandes, die Gelegenheit genutzt, um handschriftliche und gedruckte Exemplare von Schriften klassischer und nachklassischer Autoren wie Caesar, Cicero (vor allem die Reden!) und Lactantius sowie italienischer Humanisten wie Petrarca, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, der übrigens als Papst Pius II im Jahre 1459 Perugia besuchte, und Poggio Bracciolini anzuschaffen; diese Kodizes und Wiegendrucke sind glücklicherweise immer noch in der Dombibliothek zu Strängnäs aufbewahrt. In seinem schriftlichen Nachlass finden wir ebenfalls wertvolle Vorlesungsaufzeichnungen sowie Exzerpte verschiedener humanistischer Handbücher¹¹.

Am Ende seiner in Perugia erworbenen Lactantius-Handschrift¹² (heutzutage Hs. F. min. 6, Dombibliothek zu Strängnäs, fol. 190^v — 191^r) hat der neue Doktor des kanonischen Rechts die Huldigungsrede kopiert, die er bei Erlangung der Doktorwürde in Perugia hielt. Schon vor zwanzig Jahren habe ich in einer Jubiläumsschrift des Strängnäser Gymnasiums eine diplomatarische Transkription davon nebst einem

¹¹ H. Aminson, *Bibliotheca Templi cathedralis Strengnesensis. Supplementum continens codices manu scriptos* (Stockholm, 1863), zum Beispiel s.v. «Benedictus (vgl. Rogges Doktorrede §24), Caesar, Calderini, Cato, Cicero (vor allem Reden!), Consilia Iuris, Decretales, Demosthenes, Dionysius, Guarinus, Horologium Aeternae Sapientiae, Lactantius, Laurentius, Legalium Vocabulorum Tractatulus, Martinus, Monte Sperello (vgl. unten Anm. 12), Nicolaus Tudeschi, Orationes, Pastorum... officia, Petrarca, Pius II, Podio, Poggius, Pontanus, Repertoria, Saliceto, Sancto Geminiano, Sancto Petro, Saxoferrato, Simon, Tractatus Iuris, Ubaldus 1-3 (3: vgl. Rogges Doktorrede §24), Valerius».

¹² Vgl. den Besitzervermerk auf der Innenseite des Hinterdeckels: «Hunc Lactancium emi ego Conradus Roggo in almo studio Perusino a quodam scriptore, famulo domini Johannis Petruzij de Monte Sperello legum doctoris famosissimj, pro quinque ducatis in quinternis, quem postea ligare feci pro medio ducato anno Domini Mcccclx de mense decembris». (Nach Aminson, *Bibliotheca*, S. XXXV angeführt.)

Faksimile und einer schwedischen Übersetzung publiziert;¹³ unten stelle ich die Rede in einer normalisierten, textkritischen Ausgabe zur Verfügung, um den Text einem internationalem Publikum leichter zugänglich zu machen und das Verifizieren meiner Beobachtungen über die sprachliche Kompetenz des Redners zu erleichtern.

Zuerst einige Worte über den Erfolg der Renaissance-Ideen in Perugia zu dieser Zeit und deren Relevanz für Rogges Rede bei seiner Promotion, die nach mehreren Tagen intensiver Tentamina folgte.¹⁴ Schon in den ersten Dezennien des 15. Jahrhunderts wurden die neuen Tendenzen spürbar, u.a. durch den allmählich zunehmenden Gebrauch von lateinischen Reden und Gelegenheitsgedichten in Zusammenhang mit öffentlichen Manifestationen kirchlicher, bürgerlicher oder akademischer Art. Die humanistische Strömung hat sich natürlicherweise in erster Hand an der humanistischen Fakultät eingebürgert, während die Verhältnisse an der juristischen Fakultät, wo Rogge studierte, komplizierter waren. Lorenzo Valla hat ja sogar die lateinische Sprache der zeitgenössischen Juristen als *non Romana sed barbara* charakterisiert. In der Mitte des Jahrhunderts wurden nichtsdestoweniger höhere Ansprüche als früher an die philologische und historische Bildung der Professoren gestellt, und das Latein der juristischen Arbeiten begann eine mehr klassizistische Ausformung aufzuweisen.

Und nun zur sprachlichen und stilistischen Qualität der Doktorrede, die unser aus dem entlegenen, in kultureller Hinsicht noch mittelalterlichen Schweden kommender Student unter Hervorheben seines bescheidenen oratorischen Talenten an den Kanzler, die Professoren und die Promotoren der Universität zu Perugia richtete. Schon ein flüchtiger Blick auf die Rede zeigt uns ihre nahe Übereinstimmung mit dem eben gegebenen, immer positiveren Bild vom Latein der juristischen Fakultät zu Perugia.

In sprachlicher Hinsicht scheint es, als ob Rogge eine Anzahl auffallend mittelalterlicher Phänomene zu vermeiden versucht hätte, z.B. die oft willkürliche Verwendung von Tempus und Modus, den unklassisch wahllosen Gebrauch demonstrativer Pronomina, die Verwendung periphrastischer Verben und durch *quod*, *quia*, *quoniam* eingeleiteter Objektsätze, oder Konstruktionen mit Präposition statt blossen Kasus; im

¹³ J. Öberg, 'Kort Rogge — humanist i Roggeborgen', in *Från biskop Rogge till Roggebiblioteket. Studier utgivna till Strängnäs gymnasiums 350-årsjubileum*, ed. R. Lundström (Nyköping, 1976), Ss. 12-24.

¹⁴ G. Ermini, *Storia dell' Università di Perugia* (Florenz, 1971), S. 137, 467, 507, 592, 602.

letzten genannten Falle müssen wir jedoch als Ausnahmen die Phrase «*certare in vigilando*» §8 (so das Autograph!; vgl. schwed. «tävla i att vaka») und Rogges schwerverständliche Vorliebe für die Präposition «*sub*» anführen: §3 «*sub aliquali dicendi prestantia, sub oratorum modulata sententia*», §13 «*sub recto iuris tramite*». Spätlateinische Erscheinungen und reine Mediävismen kommen aber auch vor: Zu den auffälligsten gehört der Gebrauch vom Pronomen «*aliqualis*» §3 und vom Substantiv «*studium*» §18 mit der Bedeutung 'Universität', vom Partizip Perfekt «*constitutus*» (§§2 und 21) als Ersatz für das fehlende Partizip Präsens des Verbs «*esse*» oder vom Infinitiv «*fore*» §4 statt *esse*; andererseits waren ja Bezeichnungen zeitgenössischer Titulatur schwer zu entbehren: §8 «*scolaris*», §10 etc. «*doctor*», §16 «*prothonotarius*», «*episcopus*», «*cardinalis*», «*pontifex*», §20 «*reverendissimus pater*», «*archiepiscopus*», «*primas*», «*dominus*», «*papa*», «*subdiaconus*».

In stilistischer Hinsicht vermisst man in der Rede Rogges manchmal die wichtige *variatio sermonis*: Man bemerke besonders die ständige Wiederholung des Wortes «*locus*» als Bezeichnung der gepriesenen Universität (§§2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 18, 20) und die mehrmals wiederholte Konstruktion mit dem Adverb «*denique*» am Ende einer drei- oder mehrteiligen Aufzählung oder Steigerung (§§6, 8, 11, 20, 21). Bemerkenswerte Anomalien stilistischer Natur sind der unlogische Komparativ «*immortalius*» §11, die tautologischen Ausdrücke am Anfang und Ende der Rede (§2 «*quodnam... dicendi initium primum aggrediar*»; §24 «*ad optatum animi affectum*»), das Anakoluth §24 («*tu... non pigeat*»), sowie die unentwickelte und inkonsequente Bildsprache §§8 und 10, wo die Universität mit «*pietatis fonte*» bzw. «*auctoritatis flumini*» bezeichnet wird.

Unvermeidlich ist der Eindruck, dass Rogges Worte §4: «*michi ipsi de vobis veniam spero, si quid illaboratum incultumque dixerō*», nicht nur im Sinne eines Bescheidenheitstopos aufzufassen sind, sondern dass sie auch auf gesunder Selbsterkenntnis des auf das Kirchenrecht spezialisierten Redners beruhen können. Ein Ciceronianer war dieser *decretorum doctor* in Italien gewiss nicht geworden.

3. DOKTOR KORT ZURÜCK IM SPÄTMITTELALTERLICHEN SCHWEDEN

Was ist denn aus unserem gelehrten Schweden geworden, als er nach fünf Studienjahren in der Heimat der Renaissance in sein eigenes

spätmittelalterliches Heimatland mit seiner kostbaren, neuerworbenen Bibliothek zurückkam? Die Beantwortung dieser Frage hängt m. E. in hohem Grade, wenn auch nicht ausschliesslich, mit der politischen und kulturellen Situation Schwedens in der zweiten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts zusammen, weshalb eine übersichtliche Zeichnung des historischen Hintergrundes notwendig sein dürfte.

Als der Königin von Dänemark und Norwegen, Margareta, im Jahre 1389 als «Vollmächtiger Frau» Schwedens gehuldigt wurde, erhielten die drei nordischen Länder tatsächlich eine gemeinsame Regentin. Die Union wurde 1397 in Kalmar durch eine Huldigungsurkunde für den designierten Nachfolger, Margaretas Grossneffen Erich von Pommern, und ein Unionsdokument, das in unserer Zeit ein wissenschaftliches Streitobjekt werden sollte, bestätigt. Nach einem halben Jahrhundert der Unzufriedenheit von seiten der Schweden mit diesem und einem folgenden Unionskönig, Christoph von Bayern, wurde 1448 ein einheimischer Magnat, der vielgereiste und gebildete Karl Knutsson Bonde,¹⁵ zum König von Schweden gewählt. Bei der Krönungszeremonie hat sogar ein anonymer Gelehrter eine Huldigungsrede im humanistischen Stil an den König gerichtet, die als erstes und zu dieser Zeit isoliertes Beispiel des schwedischen Neulateins dasteht.¹⁶ Die meisten Ansätze kultureller Neuorientierung wurden jedoch durch die anhaltenden politischen Unruhen vereitelt — so hat Karl Knutsson drei verschiedene Regierungsperioden (1448-1457, 1464-1465, 1467-1470) verlebt mit dem dänischen König Christian I von Oldenburg (1457-1464) oder anderen schwedischen Magnaten aus den Familien Oxenstierna, Vasa und Tott als Mitbewerbern. Auch der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts, die mit der Amtszeit von Kort Rogge zusammenfällt, fehlt es an politischer Stabilität; diese Periode wird zwar vom neuen Regenten, dem Reichsverweser Sten Sture d. Ä. (1471-1497, 1501-1503), dominiert, aber seine Machtstellung wurde von innen- und aussenpolitischen Streitigkeiten

¹⁵ Vgl. J. Öberg, 'Vem kunde latin i medeltidens Sverige?', in *Medeltida skrift- och språkkultur. Nio föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1992*, ed. I. Lindell (Stockholm, 1994), Ss. 213-24 (Ss. 219-20). — Diese Vorlesung behandelt die verschiedenartigen Kenntnisse der lateinischen Sprache unter den Laien im mittelalterlichen Schweden.

¹⁶ *Oratio de laudibus Caroli regis* 8, ed. J. Liedgren, in *Lychnos 1950-1951* (Uppsala, 1951), Ss. 42-44. Vgl. J. Öberg, 'Neo-Latin Poetry in 16th and 17th century Sweden', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Louvain 23-28 August 1971*, ed. J. IJsewijn - E. Keßler (Leuven - München, 1973), S. 453.

fortlaufend geschwächt und, gegen Ende seines Lebens, vom dänischen König Hans (1497-1501) ernstlich bedroht.

Kehren wir jetzt zu Kort Rogge zurück. Als er Anfang der sechziger Jahre sein Heimatland wiedersah, war dieses voll Turbulenz. Schon 1463 finden wir ihn im Mittelpunkt der Ereignisse, als er zusammen mit einem anderen Uppsalaer Kanonikus, Ericus Olai (d.h. dem oben genannten Geschichtsschreiber), vom eingekerkerten Erzbischof Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierna (1448-1467) den Auftrag erhielt, dessen Amtspflichten dem gealterten Archidiakonus und dem Kapitel zu übergeben, um vom folgenden Jahr an selbst das Archidiakonat zu bekleiden. Auf seiner ständigen Suche nach einer immer vorteilhafteren Stellung in der kirchlichen Hierarchie leitete er ungefähr ein Dezennium später seine lebenslange Tätigkeit in der Strängnäser Diözese ein, zuerst als sich dem bejahrten Stiftsleiter Hans aufdrängender Koadjutor, dann als Bischof (1479-1501). Im Gegensatz zu Ericus Olai wurde Kort Rogge trotz seiner auffallenden kanonisch-rechtlichen Gelehrsamkeit nicht als Lehrer an der 1477 gegründeten Universität zu Uppsala in Anspruch genommen, vermutlich infolge schwererwiegender und bevorzogter Aufgaben in Strängnäs. Denn mit diesem Bischofsstuhl war die Stellung als Reichskanzler verbunden und damit die Verantwortung für alle offiziellen Dokumente, die irgendwie den aus dem Erzbischof und den ihm unterstellten sechs Bischöfen sowie aus 23 weltlichen Magnaten bestehenden Reichsrat betrafen.

Als Mitglied des Rates sowie als dessen Kanzler und kirchenrechtlicher Experte hat Rogge eine wichtige politische Rolle gespielt. Wenn seine Zusammenarbeit mit dem Erzbischof Jakob Ulfsson (1470-1515) ohne Probleme verlief, erlebte er mit dem Reichsverweser viele Missheiligkeiten und war sogar eine der treibenden Kräfte, als es 1497 dazu kam, dass Sten Sture seines Amtes enthoben wurde.

Gleichfalls muss aber Rogge als Leiter seines Stiftes für einen besonders betriebsamen, humanen und kulturfreundlichen Kirchenfürsten im spätmittelalterlichen Schweden gehalten werden. So wurde u.a. der Strängnäser Dom mit einem schönen, aus Brüssel eingeführten Altarschrank geschmückt, eine Altersversorgungsanstalt für ausgesiente Geistliche kam zustande, und sowohl das *Missale Strengnense* als das *Breviarium Sirengnense* wurden 1487 bzw. 1495 dank der neuen Buchdruckerkunst in einheitlicher Form vervielfältigt.

Die letztgenannten Massnahmen erinnern uns an die Studien, die unser Bischof rund drei Dezennien früher in Italien betrieben hatte, und

die Anregungen, die ihm der neue Zeitgeist gegeben haben muss. Für den Einfluss der Renaissance spricht, von der Doktorrede abgesehen, vor allem seine Erwerbung von Handschriften klassischer und humanistischer Autoren, Handschriften, deren fleissige Verwendung seine zahlreichen eigenhändigen Marginalvermerke bezeugen. Was seine übrige spürbare schriftliche Tätigkeit nach der Heimkehr betrifft, war diese allem Anschein nach notgedrungen auf die praktischen und juristischen Bedürfnisse der Kirche und des Reichsrates beschränkt: aus seiner Hand kennen wir ein in gutem spätmittelalterlichem Latein abgefasstes *Officium visitacionis per episcopum*,¹⁷ und wir können wohl voraussetzen, dass viele der Ratsdokumente nach der Mitte der siebziger Jahre von ihm formuliert und diktiert worden sind. Höchst wahrscheinlich ist Kort Rogge selbst für die Ausformung der beiden Urkunden aus dem Jahre 1496 verantwortlich, die die Einrichtung der oben genannten Altersversorgungsanstalt für ausgediente Geistliche behandeln. Eines dieser beiden Dokumente, worin unser Bischof die *infirmaria* mit einem Landgut beschenkt, stelle ich unten in einer normalisierten, textkritischen Ausgabe zur Verfügung,¹⁸ um ein Bild davon zu geben, wie sich unser gelehrter Bischof in hohem Alter in dieser rhetorischen Gattung auf Latein ausdrückt. Aus leichtverständlichen Gründen wird ein Vergleich dieses während einer schwedischen Synode zustande gekommenen, juristischen Textes mit der fünfunddreissig Jahre früher in Perugia gehaltenen Doktorrede gelinde gesagt hinkend. Wie bei dem eben erwähnten *Officium visitacionis per episcopum*, geht jedoch mit aller wünschenswerten Deutlichkeit hervor, dass sich Rogge als kirchlicher Magnat in seinem Heimatland des herkömmlichen, spätmittelalterlichen Lateins, wie es oben (Abschnitt 2) kürzlich charakterisiert wurde, bediente, wenn er sich auch in der aktuellen Urkunde ersichtlich darum bemüht hat, seine rhetorische Geschicktheit zu demonstrieren. Dass er sich dabei eines Anakoluthes schuldig gemacht hat (§§1-3 «constare volumus universis, quod — cum... et quia..., — idcirco nos... revolventes... locus aprior... reperiri... non potuit»), darf uns nicht erstaunen — dieselbe Erscheinung haben wir ja schon in seiner Doktorrede (§24, vgl. oben) gefunden.

¹⁷ Ed. J. Gummerus, *Synodalstatuter och andra kyrkorättsliga aktstycken från den svenska medeltidskyrkan* (Uppsala, 1902), Ss. 94-8.

¹⁸ Vgl. die diplomatarische Transkription derselben Urkunde (mit Faksimile) in J. Öberg, *Das Urkundenmaterial Skandinaviens. Bestände, Editionsprojekten, Erforschung* (Opladen, 1977), Ss. 47-8.

Es ist interessant, die Situation Rogges mit der seines mehrmals oben erwähnten Zeitgenossen, des Historikers und Theologen Ericus Olai, zu vergleichen. Wir wissen, dass auch dieser eine Doktorrede (*Oratio de laudibus sanctissime theologie*) hielt, als er 1475 in Siena promovierte. Obwohl unglücklicherweise der Text verschollen ist, muss aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach angenommen werden, dass ebenfalls dieses Exempel der damaligen akademischen Rhetorik von den Stilidealen der italienischen Renaissance mindestens zu einem gewissen Grade beeinflusst war. In seiner *Chronica regni Gothorum*, die anscheinend schon zu Beginn der siebziger Jahre abgeschlossen wurde, ist die lateinische Sprache, wie zu erwarten, diejenige des spätmittelalterlichen Schwedens, aber auch in seinen theologischen Kommentaren, die er nach 1477 in Uppsala seinen Studenten diktierter, ist der in Italien ausgebildete Doktor — wie auch seine Uppsalaer Kollegen — als Theologe konservativ und ganz und gar dem Mittellatein anheimgefallen: er verwendet sogar das aus dem philosophischen und theologischen Fachbereich wohlbekannte Lehnwort *ly* (*li*) als bestimmten Artikel für ein Wort, das an sich betrachtet wird.¹⁹ Es gibt auch keine Spuren davon, dass er, wie fünfzehn Jahre früher Kort Rogge, eine humanistische Bibliothek aus Italien mitgebracht hätte; ob dieser Umstand auf mangelnden finanziellen Voraussetzungen oder auf mangelndem Interesse oder auf dem zerstörenden Zahn der Zeit beruht, bleibt unsicher.

4. SCHLUSSWORT

Aus dem oben Gesagten gewinnt man vielleicht den Eindruck, als ob sich Doktor Kort in Schweden vor allem dazu veranlasst fand, seiner eigenen ekklesiastischen Karriere die Priorität zu geben und sich dabei auf dem kirchen- und profanpolitischen Kampfplatz auszuzeichnen. Dazu können natürlich sowohl seine persönliche Veranlagung und kanonisch-rechtliche Ausbildung als die dringenden Amtspflichten beigetragen haben. Im Hinblick auf seine in Italien erworbene Gelehrsamkeit und die oben erwähnten kulturellen Beiträge zu der ihm anvertrauten Diözese dürfte jedoch anzunehmen sein, dass in erster Linie

¹⁹ A. Piltz, *Studium Upsalense. Specimens of the oldest lecture notes taken in the mediaeval University of Uppsala* (Lund, 1977), S. 151 (aus dem Kommentar zu Matthäus, Kap. V-VII): »ira...est malus motus ad nocendum: aut ergo surgit subito, et sic est veniale et ly iudicio tenetur non pro iudicio exteriore iehenne sed interiore consciencie.«

die politische und gesellschaftliche Instabilität des spätmittelalterlichen Schweden sowie der vielleicht in retardierende Richtung wirkende Einfluss des konservativen kirchlichen Establishments ihn gehindert hat, eine Verbreitung des neuen Zeitgeistes und der neuen literarisch-stilistischen Ideale südlicher Länder im Heimatland zu fördern, eine Aufgabe, zu der er dank seiner zentralen Stellung in der damaligen Gesellschaft besonders gut geeignet gewesen wäre.²⁰

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²⁰ Man vergleiche die oben erwähnten, vergeblichen Ansätze kultureller Erneuerung unter König Karl Knutsson.

TEXTANHANG

I. CONRADUS ROGGO

Oracio (a. 1460) habita in conventu doctorum Perusinarum pro impetrandis doctoratus insigniis

(2) Circumspicio et diligencius animadverto, dignissime vicarie etc., quodnam hoc dignissimo loco et tot excellentissimorum hominum frequentia constitutus dicendi initium primum aggrediar, cum de scienciarum amplissimis fructibus ac innumeris laudibus satis ample, diffuse atque copiose per predecessores hoc in loco arbitror disputatum. (3) Vereor equidem in tantorum peritissimorum hominum concione onus pregrande et meis viribus non ferendum assumere, ut inde velim sub aliquali dicendi prestancia, quam in me nullam sencio, pauca depromere, unde sub oratorum modulata sententia in loco hoc dignissimo constat disertissime perorasse quam plurimos. (4) Denique, cum intueor omnium vestrum oculos in me fore coniectos, michi ipsi de vobis veniam spero, si quid illaboratum incultumque dixero. (5) Hac itaque fretus audacia viribusque paululum reassumptis in loci huius dignissimi laudibus oratione perbrevis insistendum putavi. (6) Enimvero consideranti michi nulla equior, nulla iustior, nulla denique eloquencior materia visa est quam loci huius impresenciarum laudes enarrare. (7) Hic locus, patres conscripti, totius huius urbis triumphus cognitu meo iudicari potest. (8) Certantibus enim sedulo scolariis in vigilando atque laboribus insudando nullum umquam sui exercicii tropheum, nisi in loco hoc amplissimo consecuti sunt; nulla spes laborantibus, nulla victoria, nulla vigiliarum gloria, nulla denique fortuna preterquam in hoc pietatis fonte relicta est. (9) Subinde, quanta huius loci sit equitas, facile intuemur. (10)

Orationem manu Conradi Roggonis propria scriptam nobis tradit codex F. min. 6 Bibliothecae Templi cathedralis Strengnesensis, fol. 190^v-191^r. 1 insigniis pro insignibus usurpatum; cfr. Glossarium mediae latinitatis Sueciae 1:6 (Holmiae, 1980), s.v. insigne 2 quodnam: quod nam cod. 3 aliquali: de hoc verbo mediae quae dicitur aetatis vide e.g. Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch (Monaci, 1959-) 5 reassumptis: de hoc verbo argenteae quae dicitur aetatis vide R. Hoven, Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance (Lugduni Batavorum, 1994) 7 patres conscripti: P.C. cod.

A vobis namque doctoribus continuis exercitiis laureandi fatigati loco huic tamquam auctoritatis flumini offeruntur, eosque oblatos sua locus iste potestate suscipit ac comprobatur eorumque tempora viridi lauro necnon mirto redemita reddit. (11) Quocum per totum terrarum orbem triumphales apparent et divinam ac immortalem quandam gloriam pretendunt necnon suas ingentes victorias pre se ferunt; quo nichil laudabilius, nichil magnificencius, nichil denique immortalis, si recte iudicatur, compertum est. (12) Taceo, quot famosissimi viri in loco hoc tamquam militari gladio scientia circumcincti strennuissime decertantes triumphales evasere victores meritissime laureati. (13) Quorum prudentia sub recto iuris tramite haud solum Ytalie partes sed et totus ferme mundus et gubernatur et regitur. (14) Nonne et vos, doctores famosissimi, in loco hoc copiosissimo laureolam vestram consecuti estis? (15) Cuius auctoritate ceteros prestatis clarumque quoddam et incredibile lumen emittatis. (16) Profecto non sat superesset temporis, si recensendum foret, quot hic florentissimi viri, quot prothonotarii, quot episcopi, quot innumeri cardinales pontificesque permulti, quorum nomina inaudita quadam excellencia atque scientiarum sublimi claritudine vigent, eternam famam acquisivere. (17) Vosque, doctores, scientiarum vestrarum amminiculis eis auxilium tribuistis ipsosque vestra industria, pericia atque disciplina clarissimos reddidistis. (18) Equidem, si loco huic tot tribuende sunt laudes, quid de studio hoc gloriosissimo referam? (19) Quod in partibus aquilonis et in inclito nostro Gothorum regno ultra reliqua Ytalie studia et famam et nomen obtinet. (20) Quibus ego non minus allectus quam exortacionibus piis inductus tum reverendissimi patris et domini mei Johannis, archiepiscopi Upsalensis, regni Gothorum primatis potentissimi, qui ex innata sua clemencia me plurimum amat ac diligit, tum eciam clarissimi viri, domini Birgeri Magni, sanctissimi domini nostri pape dignissimi subdyaconi, qui ab hoc eciam amplissimo loco tamquam in utroque iure strennuissimus decertator meritissime laureatus evasit, ad tam famosissimum studium conferre statui meme. (21) Decrevice, quoad facultas suppetet,

10 tempora: i.e. tempora redemita: i.e. redemita 11 Quocum: quo cum *cod.* 12 strennuissime: i.e. strennuissime (cfr §20 strennuissimus) meritissime ex meritis *corr. cod.* 13 Ytalie: i.e. Italiae (cfr §20 subdyaconi, §24 hylari) 16 quot innumeri: Sic! 18 laudes: post hoc verbum signum interrogationis perperam scriptum *del. cod.*, ubi postea verbo referam additum est 19 Quod: scil. studio regno ex regna *corr. cod.* 20 ego supra *lin. scr. cod.* quam: post hoc verbum ego *scr. et postea del. cod.* exortacionibus (i.e. exhortationibus) piis inductus in *marg. scr. cod.* patris: p. *cod.* Johannis (i.e. Johannis Benedicti Oxenstierna): Jo. *cod.* sanctissimi domini nostri: s. d. n. *cod.* 21 ter<re>: *litt. re in marg. add. man. saec. XVIII, ter in fine lin. cod.*

nullis parcere sumptibus, nullum recusare laborem, nullum denique fugere vel maris vel ter<re> discrimen, sed ob solam sciencie cupiditatem et hoc florentissimum studium conspiciendi gracia omnia mea sponte subire pericula, que michi tribus fere mensibus in itinere constituto nunc terra, nunc mari non semel sed pluries imminebant. (22) Sed quid moror longius? (23) Si hercle huius excellentissimi studii vestrasque, celeberrimi in toto terrarum orbe doctores, dignas laudes complecti vellem, et tempori in consentaneum et vobis tediosum et a me, qui nullo dicendi ingenio presto, penitus alienum foret. (24) Eoque ad optatum animi affectum pergo, ut triumphalia, que tanto a me cum labore quesita sunt, si qua pro longevis vigiliis debentur, tu, pater optime preceptorque mi singularissime, domine Benedicte de Benedictis, utriusque iuris famosissime doctor, tuo nomine ac eciam nomine excellentissimi utriusque iuris interpretis, domini Petri de Ubaldis, placido ac hylari vultu offerre non pigeat. (25) Dixi ad (*signum crucis*) laudem magni Dei. Amen.

II. <CONRADUS ROGGO>

<Litterae apertae de valetudinario sacerdotibus senio confectis instituto, a. 1496 scriptae>

In nomine Domini, amen. Nos Conradus miseratione divina episcopus Strengenensis constare volumus universis, quod — cum ad Dei laudem et utilitatem veteranorum Christi militum, sacerdotum videlicet senio confectorum, qui propter varia senectutis incommoda milicie celesti cui ascripti sunt, cure videlicet animarum, nequeunt vacare diucius, (2) apud ecclesiam nostram Strengenensem de facultatibus ab Altissimo nobis concessis unam ereximus infirmariam et extruximus, in qua tales deducere possunt residuum vite sue Regi suo celesti fideliter serviendo

24 tu: *per anacoluthon scriptum*; te *expectes* (i.e. offerre non pigeat), sicut coniecit E. Benzeli, *Monumenta vetera ecclesiae Sveogothicae*, III (Upsaliae, 1709), p. 108 domine Benedicte de Benedictis... domini Petri de Ubaldis: *scripta nonnulla horum iuris utriusque doctorum Perusinorum domum portavit orator noster, quae etiam hodie in Bibliotheca Templi cathedralis Strengnesensis asservantur* (cf. *catalogum Aminsonii supra n. 11 laudatum*, pp. VII, XIX-XXV, LVIII) vultu: *wltu cod.*

Litterae membranaceae originales Holmiae in Archivo regni Sueciae asservantur 1-3 *Construe*: constare volumus universis, quod — cum... ereximus infirmariam..., et quia domus talis... multis indigeat..., — idcirco nos... revolventes (*anacoluthon, vide infra*)... locus aprior... reperi... non potuit 1 Domini: domimj litt. orig.

et anime sue salutem neglectam forsitan, cum adhuc tempus gracie superest, absque mundanorum implicacione ulteriori cum quiete recuperando, ne in dedecus Regis sui celestis et vilipendium sacerdotalis ordinis in ultima sua senectute subici cogantur mendicitati publice, quod de veteranis terrene milicie audire foret absurdum, (3) et quia domus talis seu infirmaria pro sustentacione congrua sacerdotum inibi degencium multis indigeat et presertim una grangia sibi vicina, ad quam quotidie pro lacticiniis et aliis necessariis possent habere recursum, — idcirco nos cum venerabili capitulo nostro hoc animo diucius revolventes et attentius considerantes tandem locus aprior consideracione nostra et aliorum multorum ad hoc reperiri saltem in vicino non potuit quam prediolum quoddam dictum Lööth, quod mense nostre episcopali attinet, situm ex opposito civitatis Strengenensis trans aquas in Thwn. (4) Matura igitur deliberacione prehabita, cum res ista pietatem in proximos concernere videatur ac ideo favoribus proseguenda, cum consilio et consensu dilecti capituli nostri et tocius cleri in synodali sessione dictum prediolum Lööth cum omnibus suis adiacenciis et attinenciis: agris, pratis, silvis, pascuis, piscacionibus, nemoribus, molendinis, molendinorum locis, et aliis quibuscumque dependiciis quomodolibet nominatis infra sepes et extra, prope vel procul positis nullo prorsus excepto, quod prefato prediolo attinuerat ab antiquo vel adhuc reperiri posset iure attinendum, prefate sacerdotum infirmarie donamus, incorporamus et annectimus perpetuo possidendum, ipsius proprietatem, possessionem et dominium et ius omne a nobis et successoribus nostris et mensa nostra episcopali abdicantes et in prefatam infirmariam presentibus transfereutes, (5) nos nichilominus eciam presentibus obligantes ad refusionem legalem mense nostre episcopali ex propriis prediis nostris empconis titulo acquisitis plenarie faciendam, prout in litteris nostris aliis super huiusmodi refusione et prediorum permutacione conficiendis lucidius apparebit. In premissorum omnium testimonium et evidenciam firmitorem secretum nostrum una cum sigillo dilecti capituli nostri presentibus duximus appendendum. Datum Strengenaes anno Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo sexto secunda die synodi, videlicet ipso die Viti et Modesti martirum.

3 quotidie: i.e. cotidie - nos... revolventes et... considerantes... locus aprior... reperiri... non potuit: *per anacoluthon scriptum*; nobis... revolventibus et... considerantibus... *exspectes* (cfr *supra orationem Conradi Perusinam* §6: *consideranti michi nulla equior... materia visa est*) 5 Strengenaes: *litt. Stng cum signis abbreviatarum praebeant litt. orig.* ipso die Viti et Modesti martirum: *scil. 15. mensis Iunii*

J. B. TRAPP

THE ILLUSTRATION OF PETRARCH'S *SECRETUM*

In 1902 the Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz published a vast volume on *Pétrarque: ses études d'art, ses portraits et celles de Laure, l'illustration de ses écrits* which is still the most nearly comprehensive study of its subject, and indispensable.¹

In dealing with the illustration of Petrarch's writings, Essling and Müntz gave most attention to two works, the *De remediis utriusque fortunae* and the *Trionfi*, one prose and one verse, one explicitly moral-philosophical in its use of *exempla*, the other implicitly and poetically so. This emphasis was natural. Broadly speaking, however unfair the generalization can now be seen to be to the Canzoniere, these are the two of Petrarch's works that were most frequently illustrated. The *Trionfi* were so treated in Italian manuscripts, engravings and printed books and later in France, in a variety of media, and in the Low Countries in tapestries;² the *De remediis* mostly in French manuscript and print, and in German woodcuts.³ The general rule that it is chiefly the vernacular versions of Petrarch's Latin works that are illustrated, rather than those in the original language, holds for the *De remediis*.

Among Petrarch's Italian works the *Trionfi* were more frequently and copiously illustrated than the Canzoniere for several reasons, chief among them perhaps that narrative and exemplary poetry is more easily translated into visual imagery than lyrical and that visual formulae which could readily be adapted to them were already in existence. The precepts of Petrarch's Latin ethical works were still more difficult to illustrate even than poetic images and the artists commissioned to adorn manuscripts of the *De remediis* in the fifteenth century sometimes

¹ I hope in due course to provide a more up-to-date supplementary consideration of Petrarchan iconography in general, based on the Lyell Lectures in Bibliography, delivered in Oxford in 1994; meantime, see *Quaderni petrarcheschi*, 9-10 (1992-93 [1996]), 11-73 for a summary and sometimes inaccurate account.

² Essling-Müntz, pp. 101-267.

³ Essling-Müntz, pp. 87-100; see also N. Mann, 'The Manuscripts of Petrarch's *De remediis*: A Checklist', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 14 (1971), 57-90.

contented themselves with an author-portrait on the opening page;⁴ or an opening miniature or two figuring the great commonplace of Fortune's wheel. A pair of large and handsome royal manuscripts of the French version made at the beginning of the sixteenth century are more richly illustrated, one of them with applications to the life and situation of Louis XII;⁵ and some French printed editions, again of translations, in the succeeding half-century have woodcut illustrations which depict the hopes and joys, fears and sorrows for which Reason offers the cure. Most remarkable among woodcuts are the more than two hundred and fifty, many of figures or episodes for which the text supplies little or no justification, which are used for one of the German translations, first published at Augsburg by Heinrich Steiner in 1532.⁶

In the *Secretum: de secreto conflictu curarum mearum*, written a decade earlier than the *De remediis*, Petrarch had already adumbrated the latter work by making his *persona* Franciscus cite to Augustinus a series of classical opinions concerning Fortune. He had also promised that, at some future time and in some other place, he would deliver himself at length of his own view of her.⁷ As far as I know, however, no artist took this hint in the *Secretum*. Very few artists, indeed seem ever to have provided the *Secretum* with any kind of illustration. Petrarch's very title suggests privacy, and the dialogue remained 'inedito e semidimenticato tra le sue carte'.⁸ Even had it been generally available, it would have spoken directly to far fewer than the *De remediis*, since it operates in a highly personal exemplary mode, rather than a generalized one. Its sophisticated account of the emotional conflicts of Petrarch's forties, conducted in the form of a three-day debate between Franciscus and Augustinus, in the tacit presence of Truth did not, moreover, lend

⁴ There is a factotum figure of Petrarch, with four others, in woodcut on the title-page of the edition of the *Secretum* in Italian (Venice, 1520); Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe s. et du commencement du XVIe*, 5 vols (Florence-Paris, 1907-14), II.2, p. 391, no. 2067.

⁵ E. Pellegrin, *Manuscrits de Pétrarque dans les bibliothèques de France* (Padua, 1966), esp. pp. 214-7; Mann, 'Checklist', nos. 226-7; F. Avril - N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520* (Paris, 1993), no. 236.

⁶ A convenient facsimile is Francesco Petrarca, *Von der Artzney beider Glueck, des Guten vnd Widerwertigen*, ed. and comm. M. Lemmer (Leipzig, 1984).

⁷ *Secretum*, II, ad fin.; Petrarch, *Opere latine*, 2 vols, ed. A. Bufano and others (Turin, 1975), I, 164. On the *Secretum* itself much has been published; a useful thumbnail account is M. Feo, in *Id., Codici latini del Petrarca nelle biblioteche fiorentine* (Florence, 1991), pp. 445-6; for manuscripts, see also *ibid.*, nos 216-9, 225.

⁸ Feo, *Codici latini*, p. 445.

itself easily to expression in visual terms. How to show that Franciscus is the Petrarch of the past, Laura's lover, now struggling for the *mutatio anime* by means of *meditatio mortis humaneque miserie* that would bring him spiritual peace?

Only four of the surviving codices of the *Secretum* known to me are illuminated. One has decoration only; each of the other three has a miniature at its beginning. Unusually, though understandably since no vernacular translation of the work existed until the second decade of the sixteenth century, all are of the Latin text.

The manuscript with decoration only forms part of the famous 'Urbino set' of Petrarch's Latin works, now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (pls. 1-2).⁹ Besides the *Secretum* the volume contains *De vita solitaria*, *De otio religioso*, *Invectiva contra medicum* and *Psalmi penitentiales*. Large and stately, it was written with delicacy and finesse in the 1470s at Florence, to the order of Vespasiano da Bisticci, for Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino. Its elegant upright script is the work of 'H C F', as he signed himself: 'Hugo (Nicolai de) Comminellis (de Maceriis super Mosam) in Francia'. Hugues de Comminellis of Mézières was at the University of Paris in 1454-5, and active in Florence, certainly from 1469 to 1478, and probably until at least 1482. Some dozen manuscripts written by him are known, six of them signed.¹⁰ On the verso of the opening leaf of this miscellany of Petrarch's Latin works, roundels with the titles of the treatises contained in the volume are arranged round a central pentagon composed of flowerets and pinnacles. At the centre of the pentagon is a large wreath of bay, with a ribbon, within which the titles are again written, in alternate lines of blue and gold capitals. On the facing recto the proem to the text begins with a fine, large, flowered, gold capital A, above which is the incipit, in gold capitals. This recto has a superb three-quarter Florentine floral border, which incorporates a goldfinch, an urn and putti, two of whom support the *stemma minore* of Federigo in its lower arm. Each book of the *Secretum* opens with a smaller initial in gold on a white-vine-stem ground, with titles in red capitals. The changes of interlocutor are signalled by

⁹ Now BVA, MS Urb. lat. 333; M. Vattasso, *I codici petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Studi e Testi 20 (Città del Vaticano, 1908), no. 98. The first recto is illustrated in Petrarch, *Opere latine*, I, facing p. 144. For Federigo's library, see A. C. de la Mare in A. Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1985), pp. 449-51.

¹⁰ de la Mare, in Garzelli, pp. 461-2, 506 no. 33; the MS in question is no. 33. 10.



1. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 333, fol. 1^v: Contents page.

FRANCISCI PETRARCHÉ POËTE CL
ARISSIMI DE SECRETO CONFLICTV CV
RARVM SVARV3 LIBER PRIMVS INCIPIT.



TONITO MIHI Q

VIDEAM ET SEPIS

SIME COGITAN

TI QUALITER IN

HANC VITAM

intrassem qualiter ue forem egressurus contigit ut non
sicut egros animos solet somnus opprimere sed anxium
atq; periculum mulier quendam inenarrabilis etatis et
luminis formam q non satis ab hominibus intellecta in cer
tum quibus uis adesse uideretur Virginem tamen et ha
bitus nuntiabat et facies hoc igitur me stupente inue
te lucis aspectum et aduersus radios quos oculorum suo
rum sol fundebat non audentem oculos atollere sic al
loquitur Noli trepidare neu te spes noua perturbat
errores tuos miserata de loquingo tempestiuium tibi auxi
um latura descendi satis superq; satis haecenus terram
calcantibus oculis aspexisti quos si usq; adeo mortali
a ista permulcent quid futurum speras si eos ad eterna
substuleris His ego auditis nec dum pauore deposito
maroneum illud tremulo uere ore respondi o q te me
morem uirgo namq; haud tibi uultus mortalis nec uox
hominem sonat illa ego sum inquit quam tu in africa
nostra curiosa elegancia descriptisti cui non segnius q
amphyon ille dyrcus in extremo quidem occidentis
summo q athlantis uertice habitationem clarissimam
atq; pulcherrimam mirabili artificio ac poetica ut p



2. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 333, fol. 2r:
Opening of Petrarch, *Secretum*.

the names Franciscus and Augustinus, also in red, and the initials of the successive chapters are alternately in blue and red. The mise-en-page of the opening verso and its facing recto is typical of other volumes in the Urbino set, of Florentine Petrarch manuscripts in particular, and of Florentine manuscripts of the period in general. The codex was no. 558 in the Urbino inventory.

Curiously, the *Secretum* was not included, or at least does not survive, among the volumes of the equally handsome set of Petrarch's Latin works written and illuminated in Florence a decade or so later for the Medici.¹¹

Like the volume for Federigo which contains the *Secretum*, the three illustrated manuscripts are also all miscellanies. One was executed in Italy, and contains Latin ethical works by Petrarch only; one was made in France, and includes works of the same character by other authors; and the third, which likewise includes works by others, is Flemish. The first two belong to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, the third was made for an identifiable patron in 1470. Each has a single illustration, at its beginning, which owes its origin to the independent invention of each artist, basing himself on the text and specifically on its proem. There is no sign that any of them knew the work of any of the others. Though each manuscript provides evidence of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century taste in illumination as well of contemporary taste for Petrarch the moralist, the circumstances of commissioning are known only for the third.

Petrarch's proem to the *Secretum* recounts how, as he considered how he had entered this life and how he might leave it, he was visited by a vision of "mulier quedam inenarrabilis etatis et luminis, formaque non satis ab hominibus intellecta". She was, by her look and dress, a maiden. Ravished by the radiance that streamed from her eyes, he had not the courage to look at her. She nevertheless was gracious enough to announce that she had been moved enough by the error of his ways, and by his determinedly cloudy and earthbound vision, to want to help him. Stammeringly, but in Virgilian verse, Petrarch asked who she was. Calming his fears, she conceded that he had already described her "in *Africa nostra curiosa quadam elegantia*". He realized that she was Truth, and his regeneration seemed to him already to have begun: he could look her in the face, if only briefly, for excess of light.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 474, 541-2 no. 74, 5-6; Feo, *Codici latini*, esp. nos. 168, 224, 227; pls. XII, XX.

But now

virum iuxta grandevum ac multa maiestate venerandum video. Non fuit necesse nomen percuntari: religiosus aspectus, frons modesta, graves oculi, sobrius incessus, habitus afer sed romana facundia gloriosissimi patris Augustini quoddam satis apertum indicium referebant. Accedebat dulcior quidam maiorque quam nonnisi hominis affectus, qui me suspicari aliud non sinebat.¹²

Truth names Augustinus, and then addresses him on Franciscus's behalf, entreating his assistance in causing the scales to fall from Franciscus's eyes. Augustinus respectfully points out that she, as his guide, counsellor, patroness and mistress is better fitted for the task. She replies that human admonition falls best on human ears and that her presence will guarantee the validity of Augustinus's admonition. Swayed by his affection for Franciscus and by his respect for Truth's authority, Augustinus accepts the charge, embraces his pupil and leads him aside, Truth preceding them. All three seat themselves. Their dialogue lasts three whole days, during which Augustinus carries the indictment from Franciscus to mankind in general. Franciscus commits it all to writing so that the indictment will be retained in the memory. Petrarch calls his book "*Secretum enim meum*".

The first of the illustrated manuscripts, slightly larger in format than the Urbino volume, though much less handsome, is also now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.¹³ It was written and decorated in central or northern Italy, the text in single column in a good *gotico-rotunda* hand. The volume begins with the *De remediis*, which occupies fols. 1-152, followed on fols. 153-179 by the *Secretum*, which is in turn followed by the *Liber sine nomine* (fols. 180-196), the *De ignorantia* (fols. 197-215), and the *De vita solitaria* (fols. 216-255). On the first recto is the ex-libris *Angeli olim domini Iannoçii Manetti*, at the head of a list of contents made by Angelo, its owner in the 1470s-1480s; there are annotations throughout, a few of them by Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459), the Florentine humanist author of *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*. Each of the final three texts in the volume opens with a pen-flourished initial and has no further decoration, but the first two texts are more elaborately treated. The *De remediis* has borders, incipits in red, and an appropriately historiated initial at the beginning of its prologue and of each book, and

¹² Petrarch, *Opere latine* (1975), pp. 44-46.

¹³ BVA, MS Pal. lat. 1596; Vattasso, *Codici petrarcheschi*, no. 90; cf. Mann, 'Checklist', no. 128.

the changes of interlocutor are rubricated. In the *Secretum* each of the three books opens with a pen-flourished initial, alternately red with blue filigree and blue with red. The text is rubricated in the same manner as that of the *De remediis*. The opening miniature for the *Secretum* illustrates the moment in the proem when Augustinus and Franciscus have seated themselves for their dialogue. Truth lends her presence unseen. A factotum image of Petrarch in a brown clerical habit, his head bare, and his cowl, thrown back, lined with green, his left hand by his side and his right raised, sits beside Augustinus on a bench which protrudes slightly beyond the miniature's frame to left and right. The figure of Augustinus is bearded and majestic, almost God- or Christ-like, in full canonicals: a red and white mitre and a white surplice under a gold-trimmed green cloak lined with red. With his left hand he gestures towards Franciscus, while with his right he displays on his knee an open book. The floor on which the bench is placed is red, the background lozengy red, white and blue, ornamented with gold (pl. 3).

The Italian illustrator has chosen a simple and conventional solution in showing the interlocutors merely conversing gravely, Franciscus apparently accepting instruction from Augustinus, their pose as it were echoing that of Father and Son or master and pupil.

Each of the French and Flemish manuscripts begins with something more inventive, more extensively based on the proem. Both illuminators operate in a way somewhat reminiscent of that in which roughly contemporary French and Flemish illuminators of the French translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* treat the incident recounted by the author at the beginning of its ninth book: how he dreamed that his master Petrarch had come to admonish and encourage him.¹⁴ The two volumes are similar to each other in size, the Flemish a few centimetres less tall than the French which is, at some thirty centimetres, rather more than two-and-a-half centimetres less tall than the Urbino codex.

The French manuscript was written and decorated, probably in Paris, at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is the first element in a composite volume which was in the possession of the Celestines of Amiens in the fifteenth century and has been since 1900-1902 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.¹⁵ The other texts

¹⁴ See meantime Trapp, 'The Iconography of Petrarch in the Age of Humanism', *Quaderni petrarcheschi*, 9-10 (1992-93), 23.

¹⁵ MS n. a. lat. 1821; Pellegrin, *MSS en France*, pp. 86-87.

in the volume are by French moral-philosophical authors, including Alanus de Insulis and Jean de Meung. The transcription, in double column throughout, is the work of several hands; in the *Secretum* changes of interlocutor are marked by alternating red and blue capitals. The text of the *Secretum*'s opening page is surrounded by an ivy-stem-and-leaf border and there is a good initial A in the same style (pl. 4). Above the initial is a small miniature which modifies the proem in the direction of the conventions of contemporary northern French illumination. In a high pink *cathedra* with a blue canopy, placed on a grey floor against a reddish background with white decoration, a sage Franciscus is sitting, white-bearded and with long white locks, wearing a sort of turban, a red tunic and hose and a blue surcoat, leaning his head on his left hand. Before him stands a golden-haired, blue-robed young woman, indicating a lightly-bearded bishop, of about her own age, or not much more. He wears a mitre and a reddish mantle over a dark cassock, and holds a crozier in his left hand. The Parisian master has not very skilfully adapted a formula to the precise needs of the text, showing the required three personages but reversing their roles. Franciscus is the venerable and authoritative master, noble, almost regal, deigning to receive instruction. The scene is a council room rather than the 'place apart' of the text.

The *Secretum* of the Flemish manuscript is again the first item in a miscellany of ethical works which forms an interesting testimony to Netherlandish pre-humanism as well as to the northern European reception of Petrarch. One of the other texts, though here attributed to Petrarch, is actually by Boncompagno da Signa; there is another, correctly ascribed, by Nicolas de Clamanges, together with a letter from the University of Paris to the Council of Constance, about 1415. The volume is now in the library of the Grootseminarie at Brugge.¹⁶ It was copied in 1470 to the order of Jan Crabbe, abbot of the Cistercian house of Ter Duinen from 1457/9 to his death in 1488, and bears his arms and other marks of ownership. Crabbe was a notable figure in the mediation of Italian humanism to his order and to his countrymen at large. Besides works by Petrarch and Boccaccio, he owned texts of Virgil, of Cicero's *De officiis* and of Sallust, copied from Italian

¹⁶ MS 113/78; G. Tournoy-J. IJsewijn, *I codici del Petrarca nel Belgio* (Padua, 1988), no. 1; *Vlaamse Kunst op perkament. Handschriften en miniaturen te Brugge van de 12de tot de 16de eeuw*, Catalogue of the exhibition in the Gruuthusemuseum (Brugge, 1981), no. 82, pl. 73, and literature there cited.



Domine iudex
don et exultatio
agrum qualis
in tunc vitam
innotum qualiter de fons est
sane: coniuge nupte: nec non
sane sol et sompno egre et
naret: Sed aurum amque purgile
milia quodam innotum mans
et lino: formam non satis ab
tudo: mactata. naretu quib:
tunc aduile uideret. uingne
dus et hinc una abire et fa
as. nec igitur in thuyet ille

te lucas aspectu et aduocatus
indios quos aulor lux sol
fundit: ut uos autem alioz
colle: sic alleqz. Solu apita
re: Poi te hys noua pnter
Sno: nos tuos mltas ad lou
gum tacebimz f autim
letum taceimz. Sane supz
sane hietus aut malignan
te: omne agasta: quos si vtz
ad co mortali tunc pumit:
quid fuiti fite si co ad et
na fite dicit: hys ego audi
na uet dicit: de pto uin
torez illud actum dicit
et dicit: qd te monit: ur
go: namz aut f vltis: mo
talis: ut te dicit: fona m
Ma ego sum inquit quatu
m afum uis pntia quon
digna uis dicit: fona non
fign: qd amphiu: ille dicit
in carno quid dicit: fona
pnt: athlanti: dicit: habim
aone: dan sumz: qd: pnter
una inuabili: athlao: ut p
ctas ut pnt dicit: inuabili:
acta. Ige imz: iam se
nur adit: ut dicit: pnter

Nouv. acq. lat.
1821.

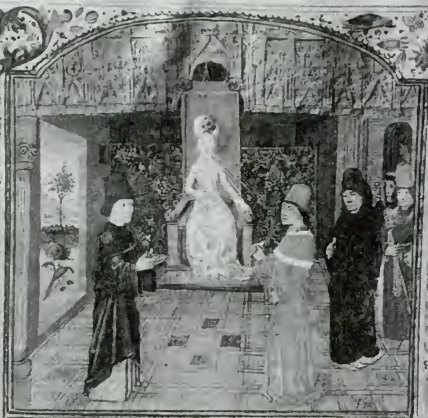
4. Franciscus, Truth and Augustinus. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms n. a. lat. 1821, fol. 1^r.

models, as well as Boethius and St John Chrysostom.¹⁷ The Spartan George Hermonymus was his client.¹⁸

Like the other texts in the volume, the *Secretum* is written double-column, in a good clear gothic book-hand. Its opening page has a characteristically Netherlandish, broad, acanthus and floral border, inhabited by small birds, a peacock, animals and grotesque semi-human figures, with Crabbe's arms on a small escutcheon hung on a crozier at the centre of its lowest arm (pl. 5). There is a large capital A for the opening of the poem, gold on a red ground, similar capitals for the opening of each book and smaller coloured capitals for paragraph- and other divisions. A large, almost square miniature with an arched top, its width that of both columns of the text, occupies the upper half of the page, the incipit of the work in red below it. Under a gothic-pinnacled canopy supported by a Corinthian column to one side is a throne on a dais, with a green and gold tapestry behind, set on a tiled floor. To one side a large opening in the wall gives on to a landscape with shrubs and a tree in its midst and a pair of peacocks beside the tree. From a smaller opening on the other side two men in long habits are emerging. The first, in green with a red bonnet, carries a crozier; the other is tonsured and wears dark monastic dress. On the throne sits the maiden Truth, benevolent, robed in white with gold embroidery, on her head a jewelled white turban with a gauzy veil below it, her left hand extended and rays of light streaming from her mouth towards Franciscus. He stands bonneted and coiffed *alla borgognone* and wears a long red robe with a short, ermine-trimmed cape of the same colour and fashion. He is all attention to the sainted figure of Augustinus, rays surrounding his head, who faces him. Augustinus, also bonneted *alla borgognone* and with his hair similarly dressed, wears a long brown surcoat over a whiteish robe as he makes a gesture of exposition with his hands. Behind Petrarch, and before his own two attendants, stands Abbot Jan, bonneted, in dark monastic gown and cowl over white. The miniature, which comes closer than any of the

¹⁷ N. Geirnaert, in *Vlaamse Kunst op perkament*, nos. 176-80; Id., 'Classical Texts in Bruges around 1473: Cooperation of Italian Scribes, Bruges Parchment-rulers, Illuminators and Bookbinders for Johannes Crabbe, Abbot of Les Dunes Abbey: CUL MS Nn. 3. 5', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10, 2 = *Fifteenth-Century MSS from Cambridge Collections* (1992), 173-81.

¹⁸ The best brief account of Hermonymus is by Charles B. Schmitt, in *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and the Reformation*, ed. P. G. Bietenholz, 3 vols (Toronto etc., 1985-7), 2, 185-6; and see now Jonathan Harris, *Greek Emigrés in the West 400-1520* (Camberley, 1995), pp. 135-49.



Ancora me miserabilem: quia
habet ne forem egressurus
Coniungit nuper ut non sicut
egros animos solet. sopn
opprimere: sed animum et
pugilem mulier quidem

uenerabilis crederet inimis-
formamque non satis ab hosti-
intellectu interitum quibz
dasse interrogat nec ita po-
tuisse lucis inuenire tam-
munda et hinc et facies
Constat igitur nichil pen-
tuisse lucis aspectum: et
ad hunc ratiō quos oculo-
sior sol funderat non an-
te tētem oculos attulit. Ne-
alloguntur: hylōi trepidat
neu te facies noua puerbet.



5. Franciscus, Truth, Augustinus and Abbot Crabbe. Brugge, Grootseminarie, MS 113/78, fol. 1^r.

others to recording the spirit and the letter of Petrarch's vision and indeed of his book, has been attributed to the Master of Margaret of York, who was active in Brugge in 1470-75.¹⁹

Each of these testimonies, whether Italian, French or Netherlandish, to admiration for Petrarch the moralist will, it is hoped, give pleasure to Jozef IJsewijn, to whom all who study Italian humanists and the translation beyond the Alps of their characteristics are so indebted. The present author hopes that this offering will be an acceptable token of affection, admiration and gratitude, not least for his introduction to Abbot Jan's manuscript.

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¹⁹ G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 113, col. pl. 9.

Paul GERHARD SCHMIDT

DIE *CRISIAS* DES HILARION VON VERONA

Das Kurzepos in drei Büchern über die Vorzeichen des Jüngsten Gerichts und den Antichrist ist 1858 von Jean Baptiste Pitra publiziert worden.¹ Pitra stützte sich für seine Ausgabe auf eine für ihn angefertigte Abschrift des Codex Urb. lat. 352 der Vatikanischen Bibliothek. Die aus dem 15. Jahrhundert stammende Handschrift überliefert 937 Hexameter; mehrfach griff Pitra durch Konjekturen in den Textbestand ein. Er äußerte auch die Vermutung, daß der Text durch Zufälle der Überlieferung oder durch bewußte Kürzung eines Abschreibers nicht vollständig auf uns gekommen sei.² Die elegante, an Vergil geschulte antikisierende Sprache des Dichters war ihm sympathisch; vereinzelt wies er die Verwendung dichterischen Formelgutes nach, das der anonyme Autor der *Crisias* aus Vergil und Lucan übernommen hatte. Für die Datierung der christlichen Endzeitdichtung machte er zwei Vorschläge. Er schwankte zwischen einer Entstehung in der Spätantike mit dem Schwerpunkt auf dem 6. Jahrhundert und der Annahme, daß die Dichtung derselben Zeit wie der Codex, also dem 15. Jahrhundert, angehöre. Gegen die Renaissance schien ihm ein sprachliches Indiz zu sprechen. Zu dem in Vers 1, 126 seiner Ausgabe belegten Wort 'abcernet' bemerkte er: «inauditum vocabulum..., quod certe non commissent delicatuli instauratae latinitatis scriptores saeculi XV.» Er verzichtete auf eine eindeutige Festlegung und überließ es dem Leser, selbst zu einer Datierung der Dichtung zu gelangen: «Tu vero sede arbiter et lege». Diese Herausforderung an das Urteilsvermögen philologisch geschulter Leser ist meines Wissens nie in ausführlicher Form aufgegriffen worden.³

¹ Die Edition der *Crisias* wurde im Sommer 1883 während eines durch Jozef Usewijn vermittelten Aufenthaltes im Großen Beginenhof zu Löwen begonnen. Victoria Polzer und Dr. Elisabeth Stein danke ich für Hilfe beim Abschluß der Arbeit; wertvolle Korrekturen und Hinweise verdanke ich Giorgio Di Maria und Gilbert Tournoy.

J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense complectens Sanctorum Patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera* (Paris, 1858), 4, 144-165.

² Pitra, *Spicilegium*, S. 155, Anm. 8: «Sequentia minime cohaerent, et forte non pauca abstulit aetas, aut consulto omisit aliquis notarius...».

³ H. Preuß, *Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist im späteren Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der konfessionellen Polemik* (Leipzig, 1906), S. 76: «Wir sehen in ihr (sc. der *Crisias*)

Es wäre ein höchst reizvolles Unterfangen gewesen, einmal mit sprachlichen und metrischen Kriterien die Entscheidung für eines der beiden so weit voneinander entfernten Jahrhunderte, das 6. oder das 15., zu treffen und zu begründen. Ist die lateinische Dichtersprache wirklich so homogen und entzieht sie sich als überzeitliches Medium so souverän dem Zugriff des Literaturhistorikers, daß er resignieren muß? Kann man überhaupt eine lateinische Dichtung mit Blick auf einen hypostasierten Epochenstil einem bestimmten Jahrhundert zuweisen? Im Fall der *Crisias* läßt sich diese Diskussion nur noch post festum führen; nicht interne Kriterien, sondern äußere Merkmale haben zu einer abgesicherten Datierung geführt. 1922 veröffentlichte Giovanni Pesenti den Hinweis auf eine zweite Handschrift, den Urb. lat. 737, der gleichfalls dem 15. Jahrhundert angehört.⁴ Hierbei handelt es sich um das Widmungsexemplar, das der Autor seinem Mäzen zwischen August 1471 und April 1472 dedizierte. Eine Abbildung auf fol.1v trägt eine griechische Widmung an Kardinal Bessarion; ihr folgen 95 griechische Hexameter. Autor des hier erstmals edierten griechischen Enkomions auf Bessarion und Autor der *Crisias* selbst ist der Mönch Hilarion von Verona. Nach Vladimiro Zabughin, der mehrere Vergilentlehnungen in der *Crisias* aufzeigte⁵, und nach Lucia Gualdo Rosa, die Hilarions historische Prosadarstellung der Einnahme Otrantos im Jahre 1480 durch die Türken edierte⁶, hat vor allem Rino Avesani die Biographie dieses vielseitigen Autors nachgezeichnet⁷, der auch in einer humanistischen Katalogdichtung auf die berühmtesten Dichter und Autoren Veronas genannt wird.⁸

Codex Urb. lat. 737 bietet nicht nur die begleitenden *Tituli* und die Widmungsverse, sondern vor allem einen vollständigen Text, der mehrere Vermutungen Pitras über Auslassungen und andere Fehler seiner

mit Döllinger (Chr. S. 429-30) ein humanistisches Elaborat des 15. oder 16. Jahrhunderts.... Die gut kirchliche, mittelalterliche Antichristlegende ist durchweg in antike Formen umgegossen.»

⁴ G. Pesenti, 'L' autore e la data del poema «Crisias»', *Athenaeum*, 10 (1922), 123-5.

⁵ V. Zabughin, *Vergilio nel rinascimento italiano da Dante a Torquato Tasso, Fortuna-Studi-Imitazioni-Traduzioni e Parodie-Iconografia* (Bologna, 1923), 2, 179-81.

⁶ L. Gualdo Rosa, I. Nuovo e D. Defilippis, *Gli umanisti e la guerra otrantina*, Nuova Biblioteca Dedalo, 5 (Bari, 1982).

⁷ R. Avesani, *Verona nel Quattrocento. La Letteratura. Verona e il suo territorio*, Vol IV, P. III (Verona, 1984), 206-210.

⁸ G. Banterle, 'Il carne di Vergilio Zavarise cum enumeratione poetarum oratorum-que Veronensium', *Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona*. a. a. 1974-1975, Serie VI, Vol. XXVI (Verona, 1976), 121-170, hier: S. 134, Vers 125-6: Hilarion monachus quoque, Fontanela propago,

Optimus interpres, vates orator et idem...

Druckvorlage bestätigt. Gegenüber dem Druck bietet der zweite Codex insgesamt fünf zusätzliche Verse an verschiedenen Stellen des Epos, durch die bisher bemerkte und auch bisher noch nicht bemerkte Korruptelen behoben werden.⁹ Im Widmungsexemplar findet sich auch nicht das anstößige Wort 'abcernet', das nach Pitras Urteil einem Humanisten des 15. Jahrhunderts schlecht angestanden hätte. Die Zweifel an der Datierung des Epos wurden freilich mit einer nicht korrekten Lesart begründet; statt 'abcernet' ist 'ah cernet' im Urb. lat. 737 überliefert. Die Kollation der beiden vatikanischen Handschriften ergibt gegenüber dem Druck von Pitra so zwingende Verbesserungen, daß eine Neuauflage dieser humanistischen Dichtung keiner weiteren Begründung bedarf. Metrisch und syntaktisch fehlerhafte Verse begegnen in der auf der Basis des Widmungsexemplars erstellten Neuauflage nicht mehr. Inhaltliche Kruditäten, wie das schon von Pitra angezweifelte 'pecudum hominumque vorator' in 2, 150, das vom Urb. lat. 737 in der korrekten Form 'pecudum oviumque vorator' überliefert ist, entfallen ebenso wie andere Anstöße.

Ein Ziel der Edition, die den Text in der vom Autor intendierten Form vorlegt, ist es, die Einordnung der *Crisias* in die Geschichte der eschatologischen Literatur zu ermöglichen. Erste Ansätze in dieser Richtung verdankt man William W. Heist, der in einer großangelegten Studie die verschiedenen Traditionsstränge der Vorzeichen des Jüngsten Gerichts skizziert hat.¹⁰ In dieser Arbeit geht er auch auf die *Crisias* ein, die seiner Meinung nach eindeutig erst im Spätmittelalter verfasst sein kann. Ohne Kenntnis des Aufsatzes von Pesenti gewinnt er seinen Datierungsansatz aus der Beobachtung, daß die *Crisias* in vielen Details mit der Version der 'XV signa' übereinstimmt, die sich in der *Legenda aurea* des Jacobus de Voragine findet. Allerdings besteht keine völlige Übereinstimmung mit der Version der *Legenda aurea*, so daß hier noch weitere Quellenprobleme gelöst werden müssen. In den letzten Jahren sind mehrere erhellende Studien über die reiche eschatologische Literatur des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts

⁹ Im 1. Buch sind nach Vers 35 und Vers 225 je ein Vers, im 2. Buch nach Vers 202 zwei Verse und nach Vers 317 ein Vers ausgefallen. Die folgende Edition stützt sich auf den Cod. Urb. lat. 737. Ich habe darauf verzichtet, die zahlreichen Fehler des Urb. lat. 352 im kritischen Apparat anzugeben; der für Pitra tätige Kopist des Urb. lat. 352 hat an vielen Stellen zusätzliche Fehler in den Text gebracht. Aus ökonomischen Gründen wird auf die Wiedergabe dieser Fehler verzichtet.

¹⁰ W. W. Heist, *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday. Studies in Language and Literature*, Michigan State College Press (East Lansing, 1952), Ss. 157-159.

erschieden,¹¹ so daß die Aussichten günstig dafür stehen, daß man den Platz der *Crisias* in diesen Strömungen genauer wird bestimmen können. Neben dem Problem der Quellen stellt sich die Frage nach der Bewertung der poetischen Leistung Hilarions. Er ist weit davon entfernt, nur die Versifikation eines weit verbreiteten Themas anzustreben. Sein Ziel war es, ein 'grande opus' zu verfassen, zu dem ihn Calliope und die übrigen Musen inspirieren sollten. Eine pathetische Sprache und die Beherrschung der antiken Mythologie und Geschichte sind die vorherrschenden Merkmale seiner Dichtung. Heidnische und christliche Elemente stehen gleichwertig nebeneinander. Auf die Christusprophezeiungen des Alten Testaments läßt er die Verse Vergils folgen, die auf die Geburt Christi durch eine Jungfrau gedeutet wurden; auch die sibyllinischen Weissagungen fehlen nicht.¹² Hier konnte Hilarion mit seinen griechischen Sprachkenntnissen prunken. Fast aufdringlich zeigt der Dichter seine Kenntnis der antiken Dichtung. Wörtliche und strukturelle Entlehnungen sind vorherrschend. Die Beschreibung des Palastes des Antichrist (2, 260-285) geht auf den von Lucan (10, 111-135) beschriebenen Palast der Cleopatra zurück; die Personifikation des Hungers (1, 88-94) greift einen entsprechenden Passus aus Ovids Metamorphosen (8, 801-808) auf. Dabei variiert Hilarion nur geringfügig; aus Ovids (8, 805) 'ventris erat pro ventre locus' wird (1, 93) 'ventris habet pro ventre locum'. Das Ineinanderfügen verschiedener antiker Quellen wird besonders deutlich in den Abschnitten über Hungersnöte (1, 177-172), einen Seesturm (1, 39-51) und das Rindersterben (1, 177-190), das nach Ovid (*Met.* 7, 528-551 und Vergil (*Georg.* 3, 517-540) geschildert wird. Hilarion erweist hier den großen antiken Vorbildern seine Reverenz. Der Wiedererkennungseffekt ist beabsichtigt.

Die *Crisias* und das griechische Enkomion auf Bessarion sind bereifte Monumente des christlichen Humanismus im 15. Jahrhundert, Zeugnisse der Aneignung griechischer Literatur in Italien und Dokumente der Auseinandersetzung mit den gefürchteten Türken, die mehr oder minder als Vorboten der Endzeit und als Gefolgsleute des Antichrist dargestellt wurden. Wie die Zeitgenossen und Bessarion selbst das Epos rezipiert

¹¹ Vgl. H. Eggers, 'Fünfzehn Vorzeichen des Jüngsten Gerichts', in *Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin, 1980), 2, Sp. 1013-1020; N. Palmer, 'Die letzten Dinge in Versdichtung und Prosa des späten Mittelalters', in *Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Hamburger Colloquium 1973*, ed. W. Harms - P. Johnson (Berlin, 1975), Ss. 225-239; Chr. Gerhardt - Nigel F. Palmer, *XV signa ante iudicium*, Studien und Texte zur Überlieferungsgeschichte eines eschatologischen Themas (Oxford - Trier, 1986).

¹² A. Kurfess, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (München, 1951).

haben, ist noch zu ermitteln. Der große Aufschwung der Neo-Latin Studies in den letzten Jahrzehnten, den wir der beharrlichen Energie und Überzeugungskraft des Jubilars verdanken, wird eines Tages auch der Erforschung dieser bisher kaum beachteten Dichtung eines gebildeten Benediktiners zugute kommen.

CRISIAS

Ὁ τίτλος βιβλίου

Ἰλαριῶνος μοναχοῦ Βηρωναίου Κρισιάς πρὸς ἀξιωτάτων καὶ εὐλαβέστατον πατέρα ἐπίσκοπον Τουσκούλανον

Βησσαρίωνος ἐγκώμιον

- Ἐξοχε Βησσαρίων, πάτερ εὐλαβεέστατε πάντων,
 Ὅν θεῖη ἀρετὴ αἶρει εἰς ἄστρα φαεινά,
 Εὖνομος οὗ κλειτὸν κοσμὸς διατρέξει ἅπαντα,
 Εὔχεται Μοῦσα ἐμὴ σε ἀείδειν· ἄλλος ἀείσῃ
 5 Καίσαρα ποιητῆς Πομπήιον ἐκπολεμοῦντα,
 Ἐκτορος ὑσμίνας ἄλλος, Πριάμοιό τε ἄστυ
 Μῆνιν Ἀχιλλῆος, τ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ὕβριν ἄνακτος
 Γραψάτω αἰχμητῆς, μέλει ᾧ πολεμῆια ἔργα
 Ἀρχέλοχον τ' ἀκάμαντα μάχης εὖ εἰδότα πάσης
 10 Τρῶας θ' ἵπποδάμους καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοῦς.
 Ἀθανάτους δὲ κενοῦς τὰ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντας
 Ἐθνικός, οὐ μοναχός, τιμήσατ' ἄπιστος ἀείδων
 Τόν τε Δία Ἥρην χρυσόθρονον ἀγκυλομήτου
 Παῖδε Κρόνου· Ἴριν θ' Ἥφαιστον, Πάλλαδ' Ἀθήνην,
 15 Ἀργυρέαν τε Θέτιν, θ' Ἑρμῆν, Φοῖβον θ' ἐκάεργον,
 Μοιχὸς Ἀφρουδίτης καὶ Ἄρῃος δέσμα ἐπαινῇ.
 Ἡμεῖς αἰρῶμεν σε πάτερ νικῶντες Ὀλυμπον·
 Πιερίδες γλυκεαὶ δὴ δεῦθ' ὑμνεῖτ' αἰοδαῖς
 Φῶτα ἀποστολικόν· γ' οὗτος γὰρ ἐπάξιος αἶνον·
 20 Ἑλλάς ἐπιστῆμων παίδευτος τὸν δ' ἐγέννησε,
 Ἑλλάς, ἀφ' ἧς δέδοται τῷ κόσμῳ πᾶσα μάθησις,
 Ἑλλάς φιλοσόφους τίκτουσά τε ῥήτορας ἐσθλοῦς.
 Ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἔη θεῖός τε Πλάτων Σωκράτης τε,
 Ἐνθαδ' Ἀριστοτέλης γεννήθ' ἄρχοντες δούλοι,

- 25 Ἄττικος ἐντεῦθεν λόγος ἦλθεν πρῶτον ἐγειρθεῖς
 Ἐκ Δημοσθέneos, Λυσίου καὶ Θεοφράστου,
 Ἴσοκράτους, οὗ μὴ λογιώτερος ἄλλος ἀνέστη.
 Ἐνθάδε Βησσαρίων τρεφθεὶς οὐ πατρίδα γαῖαν
 30 Ἠτίμησε ἐὴν· μιμούμενος ἀλλὰ γε τούτους
 Εἰς ἀρετὴν οὗλος φέρετο σπουδαῖος ἀρίστην
 Ἐκπάσχων ῥίγος, ὕδρωτα, πόνους τε ἀπείρους.
 Οὐνεκα τῆς ἀλκῆς διὸ ἤλυθε· ὥκὺς ἐπ' αὐτῆς
 Ἄκρον καὶ Σωκράτης ἄλλος τε Πλάτων τε γένοιτο,
 Ἄλλος Ἀριστοτέλης γινώσκων φυσικὰ πάντα,
 35 Ἴσοκράτης ἄλλος τε λόγῳ, ἄλλος Θεόφραστος.
 Ἐκζητῶν ἔπειτα θεὸν κακόκοσμον ἔλειπεν
 Γινόμενος μοναχός· τεύχων οἶμον πρὸς Ὀλυμπον
 Ἐσθλά τε κηδόμενος· ψυχῆς οὐ σώματος αἶνον
 Ζῆσε πάλαι ὁσίως, κεχαρισμένος ἦν τε ταπεινός.
 40 Σύμπασιν μοναχοῖς Χριστοῦ καλὸς νεόφυτος
 Ὡς δὲ θεοῦ σοφίαν κατεγεύσατο, Γρηγόριόν τε,
 Τόν τε Δαμάσκηνον Χρυσόστομον αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω
 Οὐρανὸν εἰσῆλθεν μερόπων πραχθέντα γελάσας.
 Οὐ δύναται δὲ πόλις κρυφθῆν' ἐν ὄρεσιν τιθεῖσα,
 45 Ὡς τε θεὸς σκολιὸν ἰθύνει, ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
 Ἦθελε Νικαίας ἐντιμον ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι
 Ποιμένα πιστότατον· ψυχὰς ἄλλων τε φυλάττειν,
 Δάκρυα πολλὰ χέων ἐκφεύγετο τοῦτο ταπεινός.
 Ἀθάνατος δὲ θεὸς πρὸς τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐφεῖλκε
 50 Ἥμερος, ὥς γε πρέπει, ἐλεήμων ἦν τε ταπεινός,
 Πᾶσι κηδόμενος πρόβαθ' ὥσπερ καλοποιμὴν
 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτι πρὸς μείζω Ὀλύμπιος εἶλκε.
 Τὴν γάρ ἐπιστήμην πολὺ Εὐγένιος δοκιμάζων
 Νοῦθ' ἱερὸν μῦθος ... γάρ Νικῆνος ἐνίκα
 55 Αἰρετικούς μῦθος διαλεχθεὶς ἦν ταραχώδης
 Τούτῳ ἀποστολικὴν τιμὴν δωρήσατο· οὕτως
 Ἕλληνα πιστότατος γένετο κλειτός τε Λατίνος.
 Τίς δ' εἶπεν Ἕλληνα πῶς ἐκγίγνωσκε Λατίνην
 Γλῶσσαν; Βησσαρίων λογιώτερος ἐστὶ Λατίνος
 60 Ἦ Ἕλληνα, ὄντως φασὶν τοῦτ' ἔργα ἐκείνου,
 Φασὶ νέος γε Πλάτων πλειστοί τε λόγοι κατὰ κόσμον
 Πεμψάμενοι μάκαρες γ' Ἴταλοι οἱ ἄνδρα κρατοῦσι
 Τοῖον, ὃς ὥς ἄστρον λαμπρὸν καὶ ἥλιος ἐστίν.

- Ποσσάκι τοῖς Ἑνετοῖς Βονόνοισί τε δεύτερος εἶη
 65 Πάππα πατήρ, ἀμφοῖν κεχαρισμένοις εἰς ἀγορητής.
 Βέλτιον οὐδὲν ἔης βουλῆς, ποτε μηδὲν ἄδικον
 Βουλεύει· ἅγιος γ' οὐλός, γ' οὐλός τε δίκαιος.
 Ποσσάκις εἰς Χριστὸν Μαομητον θ' ὄπλα φέροντα
 Ἐκπολεμεῖν Ἱταλοὺς βασιλῆας πάντας ἀρίστους
 70 Ἐκκαλέειτ' ὁ γέρων, σφαγεῖς(?) πιστῶν ἐλεήσας.
 Χαῖρε δὲ νῦν πάτερ ὦ Νικῆνος, χαῖρ', ἐπιβλέψεις
 Ἐξαπίνης οἰστὸν Χριστοῦ δὴ σῆμα φέροντα
 Εἰς Τοῦρκον, βλέψεις ἐπεγεύροντ' ὄξυν Ἄρρα,
 Ὑσμίνας κρατερὰς βλέψεις νῆάς τε μελαίνας.
 75 Εὐ εἰδὼς γάρ ἅπαντα θεὸς δ' ἐκλέξατο τοῦτον.
 Ἀγγελικὸν οἰστὸν πάντες μέλλοντα προφηταὶ
 Λέξαν καὶ χρησιμοί· ἡμεῖς δὲ παρόντα κρατοῦμεν.
 Εἰ δὲ θέλεις γε μαθεῖν, πάτερ ὦ χειρήνιε, θ' ἡμεῖς
 Ἦλθομεν. Ἰλαριῶν μοναχὸς σοὶ πέμψε ἄποινα
 80 Δῶρα νόον· πτωχὸς δύναται μὴ χρύσεια δοῦναι,
 Μὴ τε τι ἀργύρεον· δοῦλος σοῦ εὐχεται εἶναι,
 Σῆς ἀρετῆς θεράπων· δέξαι Νικῆνε δοῦλον.
 Ἦλθε πλέων νυκτὶ Εὐκλείδης Μεγαραιὸς Ἀθήνας
 Βλέψαι Σωκρατικὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ φῶτος ἀκούειν,
 85 Καὶ τινὰς Ἰσπανοὺς φασὶ πρὸς Λίβιον ἐλθεῖν,
 Ῥώμην ἄνδρα κλύειν, φήμ' ὃν γ' ἐκαλέσσατο δῆμος
 Καυκάσεόν κε ὄρος φαιδρὸν παραθῆναι ὑπάρχου
 Οὐνεκα Ταντάλεον βεῦμ' ἐκπίνοντος· οὕτως
 Ἰλαριῶν μοναχὸς μοναχὸν πατέρ' ἐκπορεύθη
 90 Σκέψασθαι θυμῷ καὶ ἄγλαα πέμψε ἄποινα.
 Ταῦτα δέχου, πατρῶν πάτερ εὐλαβεέστατε πάντων,
 Ἰλαριῶνα φιλῶν, ὃς σοὶ δέδοται πάλαι οὐλός.
 Ἡμετέρας Μούσας Ἑλληνίδας ἴσθι Λατίνας τε,
 Εἶπε, δ' ἐφῆς(?), γλώσσης σὺ κρείσσονας εἶχες ἐκείνας.
 Ἐρρῶσο πάτερ.

Liber primus

Huc age, Calliope, coetu comitata sororum,
 Huc propera, plectrumque tene citharamque sonantem.
 Nunc opus ingenio, nunc summis viribus usus,

1 Verg. *Aen.* 9, 525 3 Verg. *Aen.* 8, 441

- Altius estque tuba flandum graviusque tonandum;
 5 Nunc dulces elegos, non grata poemata canto.
 Grande opus aggredior, divino motus ab oestro,
 Quod vatum mentes agitat, cogitque calentes
 Edere saepe sonos, atque alta silentia rumpit.
 Iudicium horrendum refero finemque futurum,
 10 Quod genus humanum, quod terra fretumque gemiscent.

Ante hoc signa tamen, quae sit missurus ab alto
 Omnipotens, referam, mirandaque carmine pandam.

- Principio venient, venient saevissima bella;
 Fluminaque excurrent, spumantia sanguine multo.
 15 Inter se reges mundi dominique potentes
 Miscebunt iras, et proelia dira ciebunt:
 Nullaque causa dabit vel bellum iusta movebit.

- Ast ex infernis ascendens sedibus imis
 Perque urbes populosque ruet spargetque venenum
 20 Alecto, et virides spumas diffundet Echidna.
 Hinc ad bella viros animosque accendet inertes,
 Irarum tantum atque odiorum mentibus addet.
 O miserum nimium et nimium lacrimabile tempus!
 Tunc foribus fractis Furor horridus, ore cruento,
 25 Per terras fremet usque vagus, pastusque cruore,
 Sanguineos ructus exesosque evomet artus.
 In cives cives surgent; civilia rursus
 Bella movebuntur, graviora prioribus illis,
 Quae socer atque gener gesserunt omine diro.
 30 Regia tecta ruet victor, castella domosque,
 Ac tandem spoliis et sanguine plenus abibit.
 Multa virum strages et passim corpora caesa,
 Horrendum visu monstrum, per strata iacebunt.
 Non aderit, caeso moestas qui reddat amico
 35 Exequias et lecta manu tegat ossa sepulchro.

6 Stat. *Theb.* 1, 32 8 Ov. *Met.* 1, 208 14 Verg. *Aen.* 9, 456 23 Ov. *Trist.* 5, 12, 1
 24 Verg. *Aen.* 1, 296 27-28 Lucan. 1, 1 33 Verg. *Aen.* 3, 26 35 Verg. *Georg.*
 1, 497

- Sed miseros alios mandet fera dentibus atris
 Atque alios volucris rostro laniabit adunco.
 Hei mihi, quam crudo component membra sepulchro!
 Et multi rapido demersi flumine pascent
 40 Immanes pisces et guttura longa replebunt.
 Crudelis tantum non hausit Sylla cruoris,
 Non Marius, quantum fundetur tempus in illud.
 Impius irrumpens armato pectore miles
 Infantes gladio divellet ab ubere matrum:
 45 Turba nocens et, qui iam nil meruere, peribunt.
 Hic castos thalamos violabit virginis, alter
 Captivamque trahet dimissa matre puellam.
 Et miserae matres, tundentes pectora pugnīs,
 Exactae scaevis furiis acrique dolore,
 50 Clamorem super astra ferent, divosque vocabunt
 Crudeles, totumque implebunt aethera planctu.
 Illa suum natum crudeli vulnere caesum
 Deplorans, solvi crescentis fata queretur;
 Dumque foveat gremio defunctum, semina luctus
 55 Nutriet aeterni, gemitus nimique doloris.
 Altera, quae dotem egregiam et sponsalia dona
 Coniugio natae dederat iamiamque pararat,
 Milite correptam diro tractamque catenis
 Inquiret, laniata genas, laniata capillos;
 60 Et, Cereris ritu, per compita curva recursans,
 Clamabit natam, non dantem verba vicissim.
 Adde, quod est gravius, fraternas surgere cernes
 Hinc atque hinc acies gladiosque movere minaces,
 Quales Thebani fratres movere cruenti.
 65 In medium exilient matres et pectora nuda
 Ostendent, nec iam poterunt revocare furentes.
 Nil poterunt multi gemitus lachrimaeque profusae
 Uxorum et matrum, non planctus et ipse sororum.
 Sed miseri inter se districto cominus ense
 70 Certantes, proprio violabunt sanguine dextras.
 Inde alii horrendasque dapes coenamque Thyestae

37 *Ov. Met.* 8, 37144 *Verg. Aen.* 7, 48459 *Ov. Met.* 6, 53162 *Stat. Theb.* 1, 165 *Ov. Met.* 2, 58567 *Ov. Met.* 7, 9169 *Stat. Theb.* 11, 89

- Apponent, quales Sol torvo lumine vedit.
 Filius, impatiens tam longam ferre senectam,
 Patris in exitium veniet crudelis, et illi
 75 Miscebit virus, vel guttura falce secabit,
 Ut possit sceptrum pro libertate tenere.
 Saeva ob adulterium coniunx de morte mariti
 Consultans, sancti violabit foedera nexus,
 Vel despecta viro veluti Medea gemellos
 80 Ubere pendentes irata in Tartara mittet.
 Hinc fugiens primoque relicto coniuge, laeta
 Externum inveniet ducetque scelesti secundum.
 His ubi sic gestis sese exaturavit Alecto,
 Laeta domum Farnis adveniet, quam maxima vallis
 85 Et lapidosa tenet Scythiae glacialibus oris.
 Hic proprius locus est sterilis, sine munere Bacchi
 Et Cereris, raras qui tantum germinat herbas.
 Pascitur his obscoena Fames et flebile monstrum,
 Pallor, in ore iacet, sunt concava lumina, visu
 90 Horribilis torvo, tenuissima corpore toto,
 Hirtus crinis inest, plenae rubigine fauces,
 Articuli longi macie, trepidantia labra,
 Ventris habet pro ventre locum, possuntque videri
 Viscera et ossa simul, quae pendent arida lumbis.
 95 Hanc ubi contigerit, furialibus obsita pannis,
 Alecto, tales emittet pectore voces:
 »Salve, cara soror, menti gratissima nostrae,
 Pone animos moestos et mecum gaudia sume.
 Iam nos fata volunt omnes gaudere sorores
 100 Tartareas, facimus dum quod sua cuique cupido est.
 En ego, cui semper sunt tristia proelia cordi,
 Cui sanguis caedesque placent rerumque ruinae,
 Commovi cunctos ad bella horrenda tyrannos.
 Commovi fratres et ad arma cruenta coegi.
 105 Omne nefas movi furiato plena veneno,
 Et iam iam multo saturata cruore recessi.
 Tu modo perge, precor, terrasque invade patentes,

72 *Ov. Met.* 9, 27
8, 801-805

80 *Verg. Aen.* 6, 453

86 *Ov. Met.* 12, 578

89-94 *Ov. Met.*

- Pascere et enuda foecundos messibus agros!
 Horrea, quae multo sudore replevit avarus,
 110 Clausa seris centum, manibus violenta refringe.
 Hinc et agris teneras segetes evelle, supersint
 Ne laetae fruges, nec sit spes ulla futuris.«
 Post haec Tartareas descendet laeta sub umbras.
 Ast horrenda Fames, precibus commota sororis,
 115 Consurget subito terrasque invadet apertas,
 Omnia consumens, rabido feret omnia morsu.
 O miseros, illo quos tempore terra tenebit!
 Antiquam vitam repetent, herbasque virentes
 Aut comedent patula delapsas arbore glandes.
 120 Radices alii cogentur vellere longas
 Unguibus et miseris epulis assuescere dentes.
 Occident alii tauros fortesque iuencos,
 Quos quondam socios comitesque habuere laborum.
 Alter equum sternet, quo debellaverat hostes
 125 Saepius, et belli tulerat decus atque triumphum.
 Mercibus abiectis mercator caedet asellum,
 Cum sibi iam nihil — ah — cernet superesse ciborum.
 Praecipue infelix aderit foecunda virorum
 Paupertas et damna feret Famis impia multa.
 130 Aspicient miseri morientia pignora patres.
 Proh dolor, auxilium poterunt nec ferre, sed una
 Occumbent, pariterque animam sine vulnere fundent.
 Arida pressabunt infantes ubera matrum,
 Evictique fame pariter cum matre peribunt.
 135 Non tam crudelis, quam somnia visa dedere
 Aegypto, fuit illa fames, nam maximus ille
 Interpres potuit fatis obstare malignis.
 Non, quae Samariam depasta est tempore multo,
 Aut talis vel tanta fuit, quo tempore aselli
 140 Vendebant multo pretio caput atque columbae
 Stercora, cum Syriae Benadab rex verteret urbem.
 Illa minor, quae Achabi subvertit regna potentis,
 Cum nullas daret aether aquas nec nubila caelum

108 *Ov. Met.* 8, 783 119 *Ov. Met.* 1, 106 128-129 *Lucan.* 1, 165-166 135
Genesis 41 138-141 *IV Regum* 6, 25 142-144 *III Regum* 17, 1

- Heliae precibus, quem rex sibi fecerat hostem.
 145 Illa etiam inferior, Solymos quae afflixit et urbem
 Eruit, infelix quo tempore mater adacta
 Visceribus propriis immergere viscera nati.
 Verte, libet, Graias Romanorumque togatas
 Historias, gentis peregrinae gesta revolve:
 150 Non tantum scaevit, Capitolia grandia Gallis
 Quae dare Romanos repulit, cum signa Camillus
 Rettulit, exilio patriam revocatus in urbem.
 Non tam terribilis, sub qua Casilinus adactus
 Detraxit pelles clypeis et molliit undis
 155 Hasque edit, mures cum consumpsisset olentes,
 Ut socias leges Romanaque iura teneret.
 Quid Praenestinos referam, quos barbarus ille
 Hannibal oppressit tantum, tantumque refregit,
 Ut nummis videas murem venire trecentis?
 160 Quid Cretas, longa qui ex obsidione Metelli
 Urinam propriam miseri pecudumque bibere?
 Quidque Numantinos, quos mandere dentibus atris
 Humanas carnes artusque vorare cruentos
 Scipio crudelis consumptis omnibus egit?
 165 Quid tandem memorem crudos scaevosque parentes
 Callaguritanios, quos dum convincere Magnus
 Obsidione parat, duros belloque feroces
 Omnibus absumptis ad dulcia pignora versos
 Uxoresque ferunt, quo se quoque longius ipsos
 170 Servarent, carnes sale conspersisse prophanos?
 His maiora aderunt, magis his crudelia cernent
 Tentabuntque viri, stimulis famis usque coacti.
 Hinc quoque Tisiphone, Furiarum maxima, surget
 Et veniens caelum sparget terrasque venenis,
 175 Inficiet vitio fontes pariterque lacusque.
 Et primo fiet pestis volucrum pecudumque.
 Agricola infelix fortes cecidisse iuvenco
 Conspiciet, moestusque humeris attollet aratrum.

145-147 Hegesippus 5, 40 150-152 Val. Max. 7, 4, 3 153-156 Val. Max. 7, 6, 2
 157-159 Val. Max. 7, 6, 3 160-161 Val. Max. 7, 6, ext. 1 162-164 Val. Max. 7, 6,
 ext. 2 165-170 Val. Max. 7, 6, ext. 3 173-176 Ov. *Met.* 7, 528-537 177-185 Ov.
Met. 7, 538-546; Verg. *Georg.* 3, 517-524

- Lanigerae occumbent pecudes balatibus aegris
 180 Et miseris diro tabescent corpora morbo.
 Acer equus, multas tulerat qui in pulvere palmas,
 Immemor et palmae, veterumque oblitus honorum,
 Ad praesepe gemens loeto morietur inerti.
 Nesciet irasci vel aper, vel fidere cursu
 185 Audebunt cervae; non magni armenta leones
 Invadent, non ursus erit, qui terreat agnos.
 Mors erit in cunctis et plurima mortis imago.
 Mortibus implebunt terram volucresque feraeque;
 Corporibus foedis nitidus vitiabitur aer.
 190 Perque viros tandem labetur tabida pestis,
 Inficientque alios alii; dum serviet aegro
 Ipse pater nato, natusque paterque peribunt.
 Et frater busto dum corpora reddere curat,
 Tertius occumbet pariter, pariterque peribit.
 195 Infelix genitrix morientia pignora cernet,
 Seque parans ad opem quocumque tremante ferendam,
 In partem loeti veniet partemque ruinae.
 Dumque suo assistens quicumque fidelius aegro
 Serviet, hic citius vicina peste peribit.
 200 Non aderunt, qui tunc demandent corpora bustis:
 Per silvas passim, per tecta et strata iacebunt.
 Quocumque invertes oculos, quocumque subibis,
 Prostratum vulgus cernes, miserabile visu!

- Ut concussa solent ex arbore mitia poma
 205 Corruere aut veteri maturae ex illice glandes,
 Sic ruet infelix vulgus passimque iacebit.
 Et caeli quoque signa dabunt horrenda: Cometas
 Prospicies diros caelo fulgere sereno.
 Saepius et fratri nitido contraria Phoebe
 210 Ibit et obscuros hunc coget tollere vultus.
 Saepius in varios vertetur Luna colores,
 Et modo sanguineis maculis, modo turbida nigris.
 Et Sol non semper claram dabit aethere lucem:

185 Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 22
111

187 Verg. *Aen.* 2, 369; Ov. *Met.* 10, 726

203 Verg. *Aen.* 1,

- Caeruleus pluvias modo mittet et igneus Eurus.
 215 Obscurum insolito splendorem sidera reddent,
 Ignibus et crebris caelum terraeque micabunt.
 Plurima de caelo demittet fulmina dextra
 Omnipotens. Quantus mortales terror habebit!
 Flammarum tractus videas volitare per auras,
 220 Ardentesque polos cernes, caelumque tonare,
 Armorumque sonos, quales Germania caelo
 Audiit atque ingens extincto Caesare Roma.
 Et tellus, tanti non inscia vasta furoris,
 Mugitus dabit horrendos motusque frequentes.
 225 Plurima tecta ruent, aedes et templa deorum.
 Evomet Aetna globos flammaram et plurima circum
 Exuret castella urbesque domosque virosque,
 Parturient montes variarum monstra ferarum.
 Horrendas silvis importunasque volucres
 230 Cernes, obscoenasque canes longosque colubros.
 Cristati excurrent et picti colla dracones
 Et medios tauros amplexi fortia rumpent
 Tergora et expassis alis tollentur in auras.
 Dipsades exhibunt terra dirique cerastae,
 235 Infesti armentis, teneris et ovilibus aegri.
 Aeolus emittet vasto de carcere ventos,
 Qui mare perturbent, totumque a sedibus imis
 Commoveant, vastos tollant ad litora fluctus.
 Iamque Eurusque Notusque ruent, creberque procellis
 240 Africus, et primo turbabunt aera purum.
 Inde mari incumbent, vastosque a sedibus imis
 Attollent fluctus, caelum terramque revolvant
 Ad Ditem. Lybien quisquis mercator et Indos
 Ibit, tunc miserum pariter cum merce peribit.
 245 Aspiciet pelagi faciem excandescere et ira
 Eruere, et ante oculos patris volitabit imago
 Huic, alii mater natique et amabilis uxor.
 »Ardua«, clamabit »dimitte cornua, rector,
 Liberaque antennis volitantia mittite vela.«
 250 Impediet ventus iussis parere volentes,

- Nec sinet audiri vocem maris ampla procella.
 Intendet pars una suos subducere remos,
 Altera nitetur vento data vela negare
 Candida; dumque illud nulla ratione geretur,
 255 Ingenio sibi quisque suo studioque nocebit.
 Aspera surget hyems, horrendaque bella ciebunt
 Inter se venti fretaque indignata movebunt.
 Ipse ratis rector nescire fatebitur omnem
 Hanc pelagi faciem, nullamque huc afferet artem,
 260 Ignarusque artisque, viae, plenusque timoris,
 Nesciet infelix, quidnam iubeatque velitque.
 Tanta mali moles, tantus fragor ipse rudentum,
 Tantus et ipse virum clamor plactusque sonabit!
 Impetus undarum sese super aethera tollet,
 265 Quas magnos tetigisse polos aspergine credas.
 Et variis vicibus navis modo ad alta trahetur,
 Despectans Acheronta imum vallesque iacentes,
 Et modo summissa vastaque voragine pressa,
 Prospiciet caelum, veluti ex Acheronte profundo;
 270 Nunc dabit ingentem fluctu percussa fragorem:
 Concussi exilient cunei, spoliataque cerae
 Tegmine, rima aditus dabit exitialibus undis.
 Fundentur largi resolutis nubibus imbres,
 Inque fretum totum credas descendere caelum;
 275 Inque polos pelagus tumefactum ascendere dicas.
 Vela procellosi scindent Eurusque Notusque,
 Nocte vagabuntur caeca caecisque tenebris,
 Lumina nulla poli nisi fulgura missa videntes.
 Desuper imber erit, rimis maris unda meabit,
 280 Ut pereat, iam navis erit, mergatque profundo
 Seque suosque duces, quos non benefida tulisset.
 Mortis erit prior ipse metus, maior quoque morte.
 Utque solent cives muros fodientibus extra
 Hostibus intremere, ut trepidantia moenia cernunt,
 285 Iam lachrimans quisquis, quae sit tormenta daturus,
 Cogitat, et mortem, quam sit passurus ab hoste,
 Iamque prior mortis metus est, maior quoque morte:

- Sic infelices nautae vicina videntes
 Fata trement, precibusque deos votisque vocabunt.
 290 Ars omnisque animique cadent, credentque ruentes
 In sese fluctus vastos prorumpere montes.
 Ille dabit lachrymas, porrectaque brachia caelo
 Extendet, nullus iam segnis fundere vota.
 Huic erit ante oculos matrisque patrisque senectus,
 295 Huic dulces nati et coniunx viduanda marito.
 Talia convolvent animis miseranda caterva,
 Clamoremque ferent super astra, deosque vocabunt;
 Quos Pater Omnipotens tandem miseratus ab alto,
 Fracta puppe omni demerget in aequora cunctos.
 300 Signa haec praecedent venturum horrenda furorem,
 Quae dudum vates, dudum cecinere Sibyllae.
 Sed iam te recrea, viresque resume, Camoena.
 Sunt tibi praemissis multo maiora canenda,
 Qualiter Antitheos, qui se Omnipotente creatum
 305 Efferat, adveniet, Christoque inimica potenti
 Bella ciens, plebem evertat populumque fidelem.

Liber secundus

- Post haec Antitheos veniet, cacodaemone magno,
 Ut referunt, ortus fetusque et adultus ad omnem
 Perniciem; Babylon patria est, testante propheta,
 Danque tribus. Solymis sua qui tentoria primum
 5 Figet, et has sedes primumque loca illa tenebit.
 Quare barbaricis stipabitur undique turbis,
 Et circumcisis veterum de more parentum,
 Promissum verum se fabitur affore Christum.

- O Iudea cohors, o gens stultissima, damnis
 10 Laeta tuis, natum cacodaemone numen adoras,
 Expectas precibusque vocas, nimiumque morantem
 Compellis votis, truculentaque monstra precaris.
 O novisse virum quam te, plebs stulta, pigebit,

293 Verg. *Georg.* 2, 523 296 Verg. *Aen.* 5, 727 301 Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 1

7 Verg. *Aen.* 6, 223 10 Verg. *Aen.* 3, 437; Ov. *Met.* 11, 540

- Cum simul aeternis flammis ignique voraci
 15 Dederis, serisque Deum venerabere votis!
 O gens crudelis, propriaeque inimica saluti,
 Quid nocitura colis? Quid vota effundis in hostem?
 Romulidaeque quondam, genus insuperabile bello,
 Dicuntur pluresque deos coluisse deasque,
 20 Ast alios ob virtutes praeclaraque gesta.
 Unde et Saturnum curva cum falce, Iovemque
 Sacrarunt, Cereremque almam, magnamque Minervam;
 Fortunamque dedere deam, caeloque locarunt;
 Et puerum Alcidem, crudelia monstra domantem,
 25 Atque Neoptolemum monstrantem munera matris
 Humano generi, et Bacchum nova vina prementem.
 Tu quoque, Rubigo, factum de marmore templum
 Servasti et multo placata es sanguine saepe,
 Ne teneras laedas segetes fructicosaque vastes.
 30 Tunc quoque sacra est Febris, meruitque sacellum,
 Ne furiata ruens mortales pasceret artus.
 Inde etiam Pharii dirum cocodrillon adorant,
 Ne noceat virusque effundat in aera purum.
 Isti ob virtutes alios aliosque deorum
 35 Sacrarunt, cui ne fera turba noceret; et unum
 Iam non cementes caeli terraeque potentem
 Esse Deum, qui cuncta suis moderatur habenis,
 Quique dat adversi quicquid venit atque secundi.
 Quare iam venia digni sunt, si qua malignis
 40 Est permissa, tamen veniamque hanc quisque meretur.
 Perfide, sed quid tu tantum, Iudaeae, procaci
 Obsistens animo, quem iam venisse fatentur
 Pontificum sacri libri certique prophetae,
 Ipse negas, hominemque deum facis esse profanum?
 45 Expectas votisque vocas cacodaemone natum?
 Quae virtus hominis tete, o stultissime, ducit
 Ad cultum, quaeve utilitas? Hanc fare, precamur!
 Utile quid tribuat, qui totus inutilis exstat?
 Perfide, quid dubitas oriundum e virgine Christum
 50 Credere, quidve times? Iam sacris vatibus aures

Accomoda, et cordis scopulos adamantaque rumpe.
Ecce canit vatū princeps et clamat ab alto

- Esias: «Pariet Virgo, mirabile dictu!
Hemanuelque puer dicetur, roscida mella
55 Quique edat et pingui butyro saepe fruatur,
Quo reprobare malum noscat, iustumque fovere.»

- Et Daniel sanctus: «Cum venerit ille», fatetur
«Maximus e caelo, cessabunt chrismata vestra.»
Iam venit, iam vos posuistis chrismata vestra.
60 O miseri, quid iam dubitatis, perfida turba?
Consurgunt alii testes, quis credere multa
Cogeris; ecce canit Hieremias inclytus ore:

- «Maximus ille Deum caeli terraeque marisque
Omnipotens, quem cuncta tremunt, cui sidera parent,
65 Inter mortales miseros noctisque tenebras
Constitit, indutus carnis mortalia vincla.»

Hinc Abacuch, gravis ille senex, testatur ab alto
Pectore, dum totus, totus stupefactus inhaeret:

- «Grande opus extimui, divum pater atque hominum rex!
70 Dum tu, qui caeli et terrae moderaris habenas,
In cumulo foeni parvus nudusque iaceres,
Bosque tibi, modo asellus iners praestaret alumni
Officium, atque Deum colerent hominemque foverent.»

- Tu quoque, magne David, citharae modulamina tange:
75 «Lux», inquit «terris oritur, despectat Olympo
Astraea, ut mundum relevet tollatque cadentem.»

- Vos quoque, fatidicae vates, date carmina Christi.
Tuque prior venias, Cumaei carminis auctor:
«Ecce parit Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.
80 Ecce novus foetus summo descendit Olympo.»

53-56 Isai 7, 14; Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 30 57-58 Daniel 7, 27 63 Verg. *Aen.* 1, 598; Ov.
Met. 2, 96 64 Verg. *Aen.* 10, 176 69-74 Habacuc 1, 5 (?); Verg. *Aen.* 1, 65
75-76 Psalmus 96, 11 78 Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 4 79-80 Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 6-7

Tu, que magnanimum Aenaeam per regia Ditis,
 Perque lacus Stygios traxisti patris ad umbras,
 Dic, quae de Christo cecinisti oracula quondam:

- «Omnipotens humiles despexit ab aethere summo,
 85 Et puerum extremis Hebraea puella diebus
 Intemerata dabit, stabuloque fovebit alumnum.»
 Persia, tuque refer carmen, testisque fidelis
 Egredere et Iudae populum confunde prophanum.

- «Cerbere, consurget tua qui edomet horrida colla,
 90 Nasceturque Deus caeli terraeque marisque,
 Quem natum gremio gestabit virgo puella,
 Auxilium humani generis, medicina salusque.»
 Quarta quoque egrediens Libye dat carmen ab alto:

- «Expectata dies veniet, qua claviger ille
 95 Aetherius caeli summo descendet ab axe,
 Obscuras tenebras atque abolita cuncta resolvens.
 Obstruet ora viris cunctisque silentia ponet.
 Hinc synagogae dissolvit vincla catervae,
 Cerneturque hominum vivens rex atque deorum,
 100 Intemerata suo gremio quem virgo fovebit.»
 Haec eadem reliquae cecinere oracula vates,
 Delphica, Thessalice, quae Tiburtina fuere.
 Quod si nascenti credis nihil, improbe, saltem
 Crede cruci et morti, quae sic spirata Sybilla
 105 Praecinuit, carmenque dedit virgo ore Pelasgo:

«Εἰς ἀνομοῦς χειρὰς καὶ ἀπίστων ὕστερον ἦξει,
 Δώσουσιν δὲ θεῶ ῥαπίσματα χερσὶν ἀνάγκοις,
 Δώσουσιν στόμασιν μιχροῖσιν πτύσματα πάντες
 Καὶ εἰς μαστιγίας ἀπλῶς ἀγνόν τότε νῶτον.

- 110 Concidet in tetricasque manus turbamque nefastam,
 Hique Deum caedent colaphis palmisque nephandis,

82 Verg. *Aen.* 6, 134 84 Verg. *Aen.* 12, 583 90 Verg. *Aen.* 1, 598; Ov. *Met.* 2, 96
 106-109 Oracula Sibyllina 8, 287-290; Lactantius *Div. inst.* 4, 18-19

In fatiemque spuent polluto atque ore scelesto,
 Et scapulas caedent, quae nil meruere, flagellis.»
 Sic stultus, sed in hoc sapiens, testatur Apollo:

- 115 «Θνητὸς ἔην κατὰ σάρκα σοφὸς τερατώδεσιν ἔργοις
 'Ἄλλ' ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων κριτῶν ὅπλοις συναλωθεῖς
 Γόμφοις καὶ σκολοπέσσι πικρὴν ἀνέπλησα τελευτήν.

- Mortalis sub carne fui, sapiensque stupendis
 Prodigiiis; sed me populus Chaldeus in armis
 120 Captum tormentis, mortis stimulisque dedere.»
 Sed quid, Musa, refers volvisque oracula sacra
 Ethnicaque? Infelix animo stat turba procaci,
 Nec natum credit, cruce nec periisse sub alta,
 Nec sua ab innocuo descendere sanguine damna.
 125 At veniet, tu quem expectas, Iudae sceleste!
 Ne dubita, adveniet, Stygiasque retrudet ad undas
 Cultores proprios et talia praemia reddet.
 Hic est horrendum monstrum, quod gutture perflans
 Septeno atque decem tumidum per cornua frontem
 130 Cornibus, et totidem gestans diademata in altis,
 E vasto pelago conscendit ab usque profundo,
 Quod meminit divus sese inspectasse Iohannes.
 Hic leo terribilis, medium per colla iubasque
 Quem raptum Samson partes distraxit in ambas.
 135 Hic est horribilis moles Nemea, lacertis
 Disiecta Alcidae, forti clavaque relisa.
 Hic Ditis custos est Cerberus ore trifauci,
 Hercule domitusque manu tractusque per Orcum.
 Hic et Erichthonius sparso de semine natus,
 140 Hic Erymanthei crudelis bestia saltus,
 Atque Hydra immanis per plurima colla resurgens.
 Hic Minotaurus adest, monstrum ingens atque biforme,
 Dictaeas diris implens mugitibus arces.
 Latonae violentus aper, cuique horrida cervix

115-117 Lactantius *Div. inst.* 4, 13 133 *Ov. Met.* 5, 403 135 *Ov. Met.* 9, 197
 137 *Verg. Aen.* 6, 417 142 *Verg. Aen.* 6, 25 144-148 *Ov. Met.* 8, 284-288
 167 *Lucan* 4, 377

- 145 Ardentisque oculi fuerant et sanguine pleni,
 Surgebantque velut perlonga hastilia setae;
 Fervida cui latos currebat spuma per armos,
 Cui fuerant dentes aequandi dentibus Indis,
 Vastator segetum, frugum populator et omnis
 150 Expilator agri, pecudumque oviumque vorator.
 Iam iam aderit. Cane vitam hominis moresque venustos,
 Musa, Deo dignos; cane gesta ducisque triumphos,
 Quaeque sit in terris veniens documenta daturus;
 Et Christi nostri vitam conferre pudicam
 155 Iam libeat, possis similem quoque credere Christum.
 Virginis ingrediens alvum, de Virgine natus
 Christus: virginei nec sunt violata pudoris
 Claustra, nec humanum est morem nascendo secutus.
 Praeterea natus stetit inter inertia bruta,
 160 Et teneris humeris iuncos compressit acutos
 Sordidaque incoluit Iudae magalia parvus.
 Sola parens nutrixque fuit, solusque minister
 Ipse pater, fuit hic servorum nobilis ordo.
 Angelicae applaudunt, circumstant undique turbae.
 165 Dum vixit, semper profugus semperque misellus,
 Pauperiem amplexusque gravem atque extrema secutus,
 Contentus modico propriam producere vitam.
 Sedabat Ceres ipsa famem, fons ipse sitimque:
 Fabricios, Curiosque probans, rigidosque Catones,
 170 Aetatisque sequens documenta probanda prioris,
 Quae repulit rictus dapibus maculare cruentis,
 Arbore glandifera et contenta fidelibus arvis,
 Dulcibus et pomis, tumidisque in vitibus uvis,
 Melleque, quod floremque thymi redoletque saporem.
 175 Virtutis cultor, vitiorum ultorque severus
 Usque fuit, passusque graves duosque labores,
 Alcidae laudabat iter; nec ad aethera quemquam,
 Non nisi per rupes perque aspera saxa rotatum,
 Scandere, delicias quique effugisset inertes,
 180 Narrabat, nec posse frui caelestibus auris.
 Exemplo et monitis docuit, quae semita habenda

- Cuique foret, fecitque prius, docuitque secundo,
 Virginibus nimium, nimium gaudere pudicis
 Moribus, eloquioque gravi et moderamine sancto.
 185 Sprevit opes, pompas neglexit, sprevit honores:
 Cultura solus dignus, solusque verendus,
 Solus honorandus cunctis, solusque colendus.
 Quem Iudaea cohors, odiis agitata prophanis,
 Dum dulces monitus, dum dat praecepta salutis,
 190 In cruce confixit, poenisque subegit amaris,
 Felle prius potans miserum Stygiisque venenis.
 Haec veri Christi vita est moresque pudici,
 Qui moriens Stygiis mortales traxit ab undis.
- Antithei nunc monstra canam, nunc improba facta.
 195 Nascetur magno Antitheos cacodaemone, stupro
 Commisso et sacra compressa virgine, quali
 Romulus, aetheriae Romanae conditor arcis.
 Tunc Pluto inferna mittet de sede sorores,
 Quae puerum foveant, alimentaue mitia praestent.
 200 Alecto adveniet gestans pro crinibus angues,
 Tisiphoneque ultrix, diro succincta flagello,
 Atque furens flammis odiorum scaeva Megaera.
 Quaeque suum officium peraget; spirabit amorem
 Bellorum vertetque animos ad bella Megaera.
 205 Luxuriem Alecto rerum lautosque paratus
 Infundet labiis, terra pelagoque redemptas
 Delitias, largasque dapes mensasque superbas.
 Tisiphone irarum stimulos animosque tumentes
 Atque feros addet, virusque in viscera condet.
 210 Hinc, quae cuncta movet, Venus et cum matre Cupido
 Lascivus venient; et totam se ingeret illi
 Ipsa Venus, pariterque puer volitantia tela
 Promet; et adducto tremulo per cornua nervo
 Aurea transibit volucris per corda sagitta
 215 Et totas venas percurreret tabida pestis.
 Terribilis quoque conveniet Tritonia Pallas,

- Concutiens hastam et parmam cum Gorgone scaeva,
 Thesaurosque omnes vasta tellure refossos
 Ostendet, ditemque deum facietque potentem.
 220 Et Parcae venient, puero perlonga daturae
 Saecula, si possent, nec votum Fata negarent.
 Tunc Lachesis puero ridenti carmina blanda
 Haec dabit: «O magni Ditis clarissima proles,
 Postquam Fata negant te stamina ducere longa,
 225 Nec tua iam septem visura est lustra iuventus,
 Sis saltem felix, sis fortunatus in omni
 Tempore. Te populi timeant, tete omnis adoret
 Et regem appellent caelique Herebique potentem.
 Dent Arabes gemmas nitidas clarosque smaragdos,
 230 India donet ebur nitidum, dent thura Sabaei.
 Egerat argentum atque aurum tibi clara Corinthus,
 Atque tuis votis faveat fortuna secunda.
 Ferte pedem his pariter, pariterque favete, sorores!»
 Haec Lachesis puero ridenti carmina reddet.
 235 Iam adolescenti natura et semina surgent
 Iacta, malis vitiis atque omni crimine plena.
 Matris Acidaliae puerique Cupidinis artes
 Praecipue infelix tota cum mente fovebit.
 Gesta Iovis magni, scelerataque stupra revolvit,
 240 Raptorem et Ditem violatoremque pudici
 Corporis armigeri consecratique Dianae.
 Audiet Europam falsa sub imagine tauri
 Compressisse Iovem et tenerae illuisse puellae.
 Audiet Inachidem spatiantem forte per agros
 245 Incautam propriam frontem timuisse bicornem;
 Aureus ut Danaen castam deceperit imber,
 In gremium lapsus per summi culmina tecti.
 Audiet obscurae noctis geminasse tenebras,
 Dum dulci Alcmenae longoque potitur amore;
 250 Et cygni falsi Ladae accubuisse sub alis,
 De qua nata Helene, Troianae causa ruinae.

217 Verg. *Aen.* 2, 616 223 Lucan. 6, 594 230 Verg. *Georg.* 1, 57 237 Verg.
Aen. 1, 720 242 Ov. *Met.* 3, 1 247 Verg. *Aen.* 2, 695 249 Ov. *Met.* 10, 428

- Hinc et Troianum puerum forma atque decore
 Correptum, caeli quem sit dignatus honore
 Iuppiter atque deis praefecerit esse ministrum.
 255 Post et adulterium Veneris Martisque ferocis
 Agnoscet, seque his formans reddensque deorum
 Exemplis similem, totus per stupra nephanda
 Amplexusque ruet, circumdatus agmine semper
 Foemineo, semperque inter lasciva volutans.
 260 Inde Iovis vertetque dapes mensasque superbas,
 Delitiis variis cumulatas atque refusas
 Illo caelesti et divino nectare cunctas;
 Intentusque epulis, semperque intentus Hiaccho,
 Summa voluptatis statuet bona, commoda summa,
 265 Prava Epicurorum rursum et mala dogmata spargens.
 Iamque sibi struet ipse domos aequataque caelo
 Atria, quae manibus credas fabricasse Cyclopas.
 Argentum atque aurum condet laquearia crassum,
 Marmoribusque domus sectis clarisque nitebit.
 270 Clarus ubique et onix et ubique iacebit achates.
 Vestiet et fortes hebenus Mareotica postes,
 Atque ebore antiquo radiantia cuncta videbis.
 Hinc quoque gemma thoris fulgebit, et ipsa supellex
 Iaspidibus claris, et conchis tota decora,
 275 Strataque sub Tyrio rutilabunt murice tincta.
 Hinc illi plures famuli, quibus ordine longo
 Cura penum struere et sectos Athlantide silva
 Ponere sublatos niveis cum dentibus orbes.
 Quique merum infundant gemmis epulasque per aurum,
 280 Quas pelagus, quas terra ferax, quas nutrit et aer
 Distinctique aetate omnes, pariterque colore:
 Hic teneras prima indutus lanugine malas
 Crispatusque comas flavas et clarus in auro,
 Crinibus hic Lybicus maior totusque decorus,
 285 Insigniti omnes armis decoresque draconis.
 Sic vitam miser instituet, totumque per orbem
 Praecones mittet, leges qui dicta prophanae
 Exponant et se verum Omnipotente creatum

- Affirment, totumque suis sub legibus orbem
 290 Mittant, optatumque ferant laetumque triumphum.
 Ipse autem aurato curru per inania caeli
 Plutonis devectus equis, qui naribus efflant
 Fumiferos ignes, hinnituque omnia terrent,
 Perget in occiduas, modo se convertet ad oras
 295 Eoas, modo sub tardum vastumque Boetem
 Tectaque ad Arcturi magnamque Lycaonis Ursam,
 Hinc per Marmaridas vagus et Garamantas et Indos,
 Perque Arabes, Dacos, Marsos, pictosque Agathysos.
 In Christum linguae rabiem cordisque furorem
 300 Evomet et tales voces dabit ore profano:
 «Nosce tuum, mortale genus, super omnia Christum,
 Qui nunc et summi gremioque sinuque Tonantis
 Descendit, miserum tete de fraudibus istis
 Eripere et vitae vestigia vera docere,
 305 Quis caeli mecum possis conscendere ad axem.
 Parcite, mortales, vos excruciare labore
 Et duro macerare cibo victuque ferino,
 Quem docuit falsus Christus falsusque prophetae,
 Et maris et terrae dapibus date gaudia ventri,
 310 Atque gulae lautas iam iam componite mensas.
 Ipse ego sum verus Christus verusque redemptor,
 Venturum vates quem praedixere Sibyllae.
 Credite veridico! Dedit omnia Iuppiter ipse
 Omnipotens vobis. Laeti, dum Fata relinquunt,
 315 Vivite, sitque bonum summum vitae ipsa voluptas.
 Invigilate opibus, fulvum sine fine parate
 Aurum atque Eoas gemmas radiantiaque aera;
 Praeclaras fabricate domos, palatiaque ampla
 Erigite et Pario circumdate marmore cuncta
 320 Auratasque trabes variate coloribus omnes,
 Purpureas gestate togas et murice tinctas.
 Auratae placeant chlamydes gemmisque decorae.
 Delitias adamate omnes, adamate choreas;
 Communisque Venus cunctis, communis Hylasque.

292 Verg. *Aen.* 12, 115; Ov. *Met.* 7, 104
Aen. 4, 146 321 Ov. *Fast.* 2, 319

297 Verg. *Aen.* 6, 794

298 Verg.

- 325 Sint alacres animi semper, sint corpora semper
 Venatu celeri dulci aucupioque retenta.
 Quaerite et in cunctis, fuerit quae sola voluptas.
 Haec eadem, summo quisque est habiturus Olympo.
 Vosque inopes rerum meme praestante tenete
- 330 Divitias, aurum capite et mea munera laeti.»
 Haec dicens, largas et opes diffundet apertas;
 Non erit argenti, non auri finis et aeris.
 Tunc lucro indulgens et avaris anxia curis,
 Plebs nimium tollet laetas ad sidera voces,
- 335 Accipientque fidem diri obscoenique draconis,
 Linquentes miseri Christum Omnipotente creatum,
 Qui genus humanum crudeli morte redemit.
 O fera peritias auri caecique furoris!
 O rabies! O sacra fames, quid pectora tantis
- 340 Humana exagitas Furiis? Tu causa malorum
 Cunctorum humano generi, tu tabida pestis.
 Per te bella placent, per te arma cruenta moventur.
 Per te Troia ruit, Phoebus et fabricata per aurum.
 Per te Roma cadit, per te Carthaginis arces.
- 345 Te sitiens Crassus, dum te per bella requirit,
 In Parthis moriens, pleno te faucibus hausit.
 Poenitet et Midam tete exoptasse, diuque
 Cum lacrymis tolli temeraria vota precatur.
 Pygmalione fero per te bonus ille Sychaeus
- 350 Occubuit, coniunx castae Didonis amatus.
 Atlanta Hippomones cursu superavit inerti,
 Aurea dum manibus tardatur mala legendo.
 Horribili haec eadem dedit observanda draconi
 Anxia cunctarum Iuno regina dearum,
- 355 Dum timet Hesperidas, nec tutos conspicit hortos.
 Priamides cecidit Polydorus ab hospite caesus,
 Cum patriis laribus tete excessisset honustus.
 Perdidit amissa cum virginitate pudorem
 Infelix Dane, gremio dum colligit aurum.
- 360 Infelix Iudas, Stygias demissus ad undas

340 Verg. *Aen.* 11, 361 344 Verg. *Aen.* 1, 366 346 Verg. *Aen.* 2, 774 349 Verg.
Aen. 1, 343 356 Verg. *Aen.* 3, 49-55 360 Ov. *Met.* 3, 272

- Te propter, votum satiat dum mentis avarae.
 Solum mortis erat terris genus, atque sorores
 Tempora longa viris per stamina longa trahebant.
 At tu immaturam mortem et indebita fata
- 365 Das multis, Parcasque facis sua rumpere fila
 Invitas, casus mortisque inducis acerbos.
 Phryxaeum vellus nam correpturus Iason
 Sollicitavit aquas primus, pelagique procellas
 Sensit, et aequoreas alnum demisit in undas,
- 370 Edocuitque mori pelago, piscesque replere
 Carnibus, et diris componere membra sepulchris.
 Post audax genus Iapeti te coepit ubique
 Quaerere, nec Scyllam nec formidare Charybdim,
 Littora nec Circes, socios quae vertit Ulyssis,
- 375 Myrtoumque fretum Borea pellente secare.
 Navigat ad Lybien alius ditemque Corinthum,
 Alter Daedalicis pennis superevolat Arcton.
 Nec contentus homo terra, ruit aequore toto;
 Aequore transmisso, superevolat aethera magnum.
- 380 Callidus hinc arcam fur te custode refringit,
 Inventusque foro poenas cruce pendit ab alta;
 Te Iudaeus Achar populo lapidatur ab omni,
 Atque dedit poenas furti scelerata cupido.
 Per te nulla fides, per te fraudesque dolique
- 385 Servorum in dominos, quos strangulat impia turba,
 Saepius et frater fratrem natusque parentem.
 Candida per te etiam terras Astraea reliquit,
 Iudiciumque fori versas litesque retexis.
 Perfidus en tutor scrutatur damna clientis,
- 390 Per fora causidici resonant clamoribus acres.
 Lingua tacet, loquitur Demosthenis illa diserta,
 Utque iubes, sic quisque facit, mendatia folles
 Spirant magna cavi, per fas ruiturque nefasque.
 O quam felices, qui te sprevere, fuerunt,
- 395 Fabricii Curique omnes, rigidique Catones!
 O fortunatum Socratem, pectusque severum,
 Qui te detestans pelagus demersit in altum!

- Aegypti felix sacer ille Antonius, alti
 Consilii, qui te sylvis visumque repertum
 400 Effugit, veluti conspecta Gorgone dira.
 Haec erit esca prior, mellito admixta veneno,
 Quam dabit Antitheos populis turbaeque sequaci;
 Namque voluptates solum haec sectatur amoenas.
- Ast alios stabilis mentis fideique probatae
 405 Fallere portentis variisque avertere signis
 Tentabit, magicas totus conversus ad artes.
 Iamque ad se inferni manes nigrique ministri
 Plutonis venient, quae iusserit ille, parati
 Efficere atque dolis caelum terramque movere.
 410 Hincque alii summo flammascendere Olympo
 Ostendent, alii dare fulgura clara serenum
 Caelum, quod gestum est Heliae tempore vatis.
 Sanguine commixtos deducet ab aethere nymbos,
 Ut factum memorant per Punica bella secunda.
 415 Mugitusque bovis immortalia verba resolvit,
 Atque loqui infantes faciet, mirabile dictu!
 In colubros vertet virgas viridesque dracones,
 Utque volet, fera monstra dabit, modo mitia reddet.
 Hisque oculos miris populorum et corda tenebit,
 420 Ut domini quondam rerum gentesque togatae
 Romani, totusque orbis cacodaemone lusus,
 Hisque dolis captus varioque errore deorum.
 Hinc etiam Phoebi tripodas mensasque reponet,
 Marmoreumque loqui Phoebum aeratasque Sibyllas
 425 Coget, et ingratis humanos perdere mores
 Responsis, stabilemque fidem temerare prophana.
 Post quoque de caelo labi cacodaemonas alto
 Vulcani in speciem faciet, qui discipulorum
 Pectora transadeant inspirentque ora veneno.
 430 Protinus et vario linguas sermone furentes
 Afflatus referet divino numine mendax.
 Quid varias linguas miraris, credula turba?
 Thessala latratusque canum gemitusque luporum

- Virgo sonat; quicquid buboque strygesque queruntur
 435 Nocturnae, quodcumque ferae, quod sibilat anguis,
 Exprimit, illisae sonitum quoque cautibus undae.
 Inde Herebo invitas animas deducet ab imo,
 Carceris invisi compellens claustra subire.
 Se quoque defunctum simulans lapsumque sub umbras,
 440 Tertia cum terris Aurora reluxerit alma,
 Surget ovans, nitidumque trahet de marmore corpus.

Liber tertius

Iam roseos pone et pullos cape, Musa, cothurnos,
 Et citharam moestam, plectrum quoque flebile carpe.
 Caedibus en sequitur carmen plenumque cruore.

- Hinc quos prodigiis vanis dolisque nequibit
 5 Perdere, suppliciiis et poenis coget amaris.
 Sed, proh, quas poenas dabit et tormenta tyrannus
 Impius! Excedet crudelia facta Neronis,
 Qui Petrum ac Paulum crudeli morte peremit,
 In cruce cum periit primus, iuguloque secundus;
 10 Quique didascalicon Senecam matremque necavit.
 Bistonios quid equos miraris postera turba,
 Artubus humanis dominus quos pavit iniquus?
 Mezentii nil sunt furiae, qui clausa sepulchris
 Mortua iungebat, miserabile, corpora vivis.
 15 Humana Phalaris taurum quid voce sonantem
 Formidas? Nihil est ad gesta horrenda tyranni.
 Perfidus hunc genitor Pluto, super omnia doctus
 Tormenta et poenas Herebi, per cuncta docebit
 Instituetque virum poenarum per nova monstra,
 20 Exercent Minos et quas Radamanthus in Horco.
 Dum miseras animas poenis crudelibus urgent
 Atque iubent alias Borea pendere trementes
 Atque alias flammis torqueri atque ignibus atris,
 Hae glacie, tepidis aliae volvuntur aenis,
 25 Prospectant aliae labentia flumina anhelos

- Ore, nec haec possunt fugientia lambere labris,
Tantalidae quales et eodem crimine censi;
Convolvunt ingens aliae de vertice saxum
Atque rotant rursus per summa cacumina montis.
30 Altera pascit aves proprio sub viscere, tanquam
Qui Tytius rostro laniatur vulturis unco.
Talibus instructus poenis doctusque tremendis,
Quam cladem dabit in populum turbamque fidelem
Barbarus hinc, animas potius quam corpora malens
35 Perdere, et in miseram secum tractare ruinam!
O miseranda dies! O collacrimabile tempus!
Quis timor incumbet terris! Quis planctus ad auras!
Ipsa fides necubi Christi terrore sonabit;
Antitheon cuncti votis precibusque vocabunt.
40 Atque alius terrae vasto latitabit hyatu,
Aerias alter fugiet conversus ad Alpes.
Et Pater Omnipotens nisi tempora scaeva secaret
Per medium et tantam rabiem tantumque furorem
Tolleret, in terris spes nulla salutis adesset.
45 At postquam per tres regnaverit ille decembres,
Et geminos loeto dederit ferus ante prophetas,
Hinc caeli Genitor demisso fulmine ad umbras
Mittet, Plutonis visentem regna parentis.
Hic ille Encheladus, quem fabula narrat inanis
50 Fulmine demissum, tergo fulcire ruinas
Etnae, atque ingentes flammās ex ore vomentem,
Dum putat ipse Iovem superis detrudere regnis.
Hic est, quem vinctum mons Caucasus ante catenis
Continuit, furti dantem pro crimine poenas.
55 O miseram turbam! Quali tunc tota pudore,
Quo terrore ruet, prostratum fulmine regem
Dum cernet, qui se magni Omnipotentis alumnus
Fecerat et caeli dominum terraeque marisque!
- Qualiter armentum, dum pascua laeta pererrat
60 Atque ducem taurum sequitur per cornua grandem,
Et Iovis emittat fulmen per nubila dextra,

- Prosternatque ducem media inter cornua figens,
 Territa turba fugit, sylvas montesque peragrat,
 Nescia stare loco et caelum mugitibus implet,
 65 Taliter Antithei fuerint qui signa secuti,
 Diffugient pavidi ac tanta novitate trementes.
 At Pater Omnipotens, cunctos miseratus ab alto,
 Unica cui pietas cordi est et facta benigna,
 Praestabit miseris tempus, quo vota proterva
 70 Emendent, caelique Deum terraeque potentem
 Agnoscant, qui cuncta suis moderatur habenis.
 At quam longa dies, quam tempora longa futura
 Iudicium sint ante Dei, et quando ultima finis,
 Scire nefas, solique Deo fas scire futura.
 75 At sunt, qui referant ter quinque horrenda praeire
 Signa haec iudicium, totum memorata per orbem:
 Prima namque die, per quadraginta tumescens
 Neptunus cubitos super Acroceraunia tollet.
 Post haec se tantum baratrum demittet ad imum
 80 Protinus, ut nulli possit vix ipse videri.
 Hinc, quae cuncta natant variata sub aequore monstra,
 Exilient, curvi delphines, grandia cete,
 Et caelum ac terras nimio clamore replebunt.
 Per mare, per terras ignis vagus inde feretur,
 85 Horribilique rogo mortalia quaeque tremiscent.
 Sanguineo frondes cernentur rore madentes,
 Et caeli volucres cunctae cogentur in agros,
 Horrendumque diem mutae impastaeque manebunt.
 Tecta domusque ruent et celsa palatia regum.
 90 Fulmina ab Eois oris mittentur ad Arcton,
 Horrifico sonitu totum terrentia mundum.
 Percussae alterno frangentur vulnere petrae.
 Et terrae motus communis quaeque resolvet
 Terribilis, quantum non senserit ulla vetustas.
 95 Planitiem tellus omnis redigetur in unam,
 Aeriaeque Alpes et caelum vertice Olympus
 Sternetur tangens atque alta cacumina Cynthi.
 Hinc mortalis homo vastis exhibit ab antris,

- Attonitus tantis signis tantisque tremendis
 100 Prodigiiis, velutique amens huc mutus et illuc
 Cursabit, Cereris, non Bacchi munera gustans.
 Cunctorum manes ad corpora nota redibunt,
 Unoquoque suo reserato astante sepulchro.
 Sydera cuncta ruent summo labentia caelo,
 105 Et vaga quaeque poli sunt fixa immota sub axe.
 Iuppiter atque Venus, Mars et Cyllenia proles,
 Incurvusque senex, curva qui falce minatur,
 Anguis et Arctophylax, et quam dixere Coronam,
 Herculis effigies, Lyra, Perseus, Cygnus et ipsa
 110 Cassiope, Andromede, necnon Auriga superbus,
 Amphitrionades, cinctus serpente, sagitta,
 Pegasus atque Aquila et curvo cum tergo Delphin,
 Eridanus, Pistris, Lepus et nimbosus Orion,
 Et Canis et Procyon, necnon et Thessala puppis,
 115 Semiferis pedibus velox Centaurus et Ara
 Hydraque, et Austrinum quem dicunt nomine piscem.
 Hinc Aries Taurusque, Europae vector, et ipsi
 Tyndaridae, Erigone Cancerque Leoque iubatus,
 Scorpius et Chiron, qui flectit spicula cornu,
 120 Aegoceron, et qui diffundit Aquarius urnam,
 Et Pisces, Notius qui dicitur atque Boreus.
 Hinc mors communis spirantia quaeque resolvet
 Protinus, ut pariter iam mortua quaeque resurgent,
 Communisque rogos caelum terramque cremabit.
 125 Post Pater ipse deum caelum terramque novabit.
 Hinc tuba terribili sonitu et clangore citabit
 Sublimes animas, iterumque in corpora coget.
 Gaudentesque animae surgent hilaresque piorum,
 At contra tristes animae moestaeque malorum.
 130 Post haec Omnipotens, in maiestate tremendus,
 Caelesti adveniet sese comitante caterva
 Atque aderit mediae per caeca silentia noctis.
 Et Michael, primus praeclari miles Olympi,
 Seseaget innumeras agitans ductansque phalanges

106 Stat. *Theb.* 7, 74
Met. 7, 184

119 Verg. *Aen.* 7, 497

131 Verg. *Aen.* 2, 40

132 Ov.

- 135 Angelicas, claras nimium, nitidasque sub armis,
 Humanique ferent tormenta immania Christi,
 Ausa quibus Iudaea cohors hunc tradere morti.
 Ille crucem feret horrendam, feret ille cruentos
 Clavos, quis manus est insonti affixa pedesque,
 140 Lancea crudelis maculataque sanguine rubro,
 Spongiaque a summa praecedet arundine pendens,
 Quaeque caput nitidum confixit dira corona.
 Ac veluti excussum fulmen de nubibus atris,
 Emicat extemplo, et totum tremefectat Olympum,
 145 Ingenti sonitu complet mundumque fragore
 Atque improvisas gentes populosque paventes
 Territat, obliqua perstringens lumina flamma,
 Sic Pater Omnipotens caelo descendet aperto,
 Terribilis cunctis improvisusque repente,
 150 Sublimi elatus solio totusque refulgens.
 At quam praeclari comites cum iudice tanto
 Advenient, pariterque in maiestate sedebunt!
 Virgo Dei genitrix, fulvo rutilantior auro,
 Angelicis stipata choris, hic prima sedebit,
 155 Iudicium summi collaudatura Tonantis.
 Angelus ille Dei post hanc Baptista sequetur,
 Indutus quondam villosa pelle cameli.
 Petrus, apostolica circumdatus undique turba,
 Tritos erit, referens manibus data vincula caeli.
 160 Post hos, martyrii qui promeruere triumphum,
 Quos omnes primus Stephanus reget agmine longo.
 Quique fidem Christi defensavere diserti
 Latrantesque canes deturbavere, sequentur:
 Quos inter primus surgens Hieronymus omnes,
 165 Eloquii princeps, palla radiabit in alba.
 Non aliter quam gemma micans rutilansve pyropus,
 Virgineum decus his succedet et inclyta turba,
 Quae sibi promeruit cum virginitate triumphum,
 Candida sub niveisque stolis vittisque capillos
 170 Annexa atque genas tenero suffusa rubore.
 Ultima, quae tanto cum iudice turba sedebit

- Religiosa, aderit, proprie quae dogmata normae
 Servavit, semper Christi pia facta secuta.
 Hinc etiam referet sese obvia turba piorum,
 175 Angelicis commixta choris caelique catervis.
 Perfida vero cohors cacodaemone mixta iacebit,
 Fixa oculosque solo confusaque tota pudore.
 Hac ergo ornatus circumsaeptusque caterva,
 Caelestis Iudex primum conversus ad agnos,
 180 Voce pia vultuque hilari placidoque loquetur:
 «Huc, benedicta, veni, prospera, stirps inclyta patris;
 Regna beata subi, cape praemia laeta laborum!
 Nam mea tu semper, semper mandata secuta es:
 Nudus eram, semper velasti corpora nuda;
 185 Pavisti miseros, fovisti semper egenos.»
 Voce hinc terribili, vultu irato atque minanti,
 Quam caeli terraeque trement, conversus ad haedos:
 «I,» dicet «genus infandum, pete Tartara nigra,
 Perpetuisque ardesce focis flammaque voraci;
 190 Nam mea tu nunquam, nunquam praecepta secutum es.
 Fovisti nunquam miseros, nunquam vel egenos.»
 Sicque hii praecipites in Tartara scaeva dabuntur,
 Perpetuas scelerum poenas et damna daturi.
 Illi autem caeli clara regione recepti,
 195 Perpetuo capient caelestis gaudia vitae.

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L'ORAZIONE DI RUDOLF AGRICOLA PER PAUL DE BAENST
RETTORE DELL'UNIVERSITÀ GIURISTA PAVESE:
PAVIA 10 AGOSTO 1473

Gli storici delle Fiandre conoscono molto bene Paul de Baenst cui è dedicato un profilo rapido, ma sostanzioso nella *Biographie Nationale*¹ e da cui espressamente dipende la nota all'iscrizione del 30 agosto 1464 nella Matricola dell'Università di Lovanio: «Paulus de Baenst de Brugis Tornacensis diocesis in artibus».² Per i biografi belgi Paul è nato verso il 1442 ed è entrato nel Gran Consiglio di Maria di Borgogna nel 1477.³ La lacuna tra il 1464 e il 26 marzo 1477, data appunto di nomina a 'raadsheer-requestmeester' è mantenuta anche nell'opera di A. J. M. Kerkhoffs-De Heij sul Gran Consiglio.⁴ Tra gli studi a Lovanio e la carriera al servizio della Borgogna c'è un soggiorno in Italia e precisamente a Pavia dove Paul de Baenst conseguì il dottorato in utroque il 10 agosto 1474.⁵ Il soggiorno a Pavia è noto agli studiosi della storia di questa Università⁶, ma soprattutto a quanti si interessano di vicende umanistiche perché de Baenst non solo fu rettore dell'Università giurista pavese⁷, ma fu in stretti rapporti con Rudolf Agricola che il 10 agosto 1473 pronunciò la

¹ (J.) Britz, 'Baenst (Paul de)', in *Biographie Nationale publiée par l'Académie Royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, (Bruxelles, 1866), I, 620-21.

² J. Wils, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain, 31 août 1453-31 août 1485* (Bruxelles-Brussel, 1946), II, 139 n. 211.

³ Per il Gran Consiglio di Maria di Borgogna con il ricordo di P. de Baenst: J. Stengers, 'Composition, procédure et activité judiciaire du Grand Conseil de Marie de Bourgogne pendant les trois premières années de son existence (février 1477 — février 1480)', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 109 (1945), 1-51, in particolare p. 8.

⁴ *De Grote Raad en zijn functionarissen. 1477-1531. Biografieën van Raadsheren* (Amsterdam, 1980), p. 15.

⁵ *Lauree pavesi nella seconda metà del '400. I (1450-1475)*. A cura di A. Sottili. Presentazione di X. Toscani (Milano, 1995), pp. 330-32.

⁶ A. Sottili, 'Le contestate elezioni rettorali di Paul van (!) Baenst e Johannes von Dalberg all'Università di Pavia', in Sottili, *Università e cultura. Studi sui rapporti italo-tedeschi nell'età dell'Umanesimo* (Goldbach, 1993), pp. 272*-318*.

⁷ N. Geirnaert, 'Bruges et la vie intellectuelle de l'Europe au moyen âge', in *Bruges et l'Europe*. Sous la direction de V. Vermeersch... (Brugge, 1992), p. 239.

'laudatio' per l'insediamento di Paul de Baenst a rettore, edita alla fine di queste pagine, e tradusse in latino, ampliandola e completandola, l'epistola in francese che Arnould de Lalaing inviò da Treviri al rettore de Baenst per tener informato lui (e la consorteria borgognone) sugli avvenimenti dell'incontro tra Federico III e Carlo il Temerario.⁸ La prima menzione di Paul de Baenst in Italia è del 16 aprile 1472: in tale data viene concesso un salvacondotto a «Paulus de Baenst filius condam Ludovici de Bruges de Flandria» studente a Pavia.⁹ La menzione successiva è del 9 febbraio 1473 e ci permette una prima serie di riflessioni sulla presenza di Paul de Baenst a Pavia. Alla data in questione si licenzia in civile un diocesano di Tournai, come de Baenst, il piccardo Nichasius Vergelois, 'magister artium'. Vari indizi lasciano pensare che si sia trattato di un avvenimento importante per la consorteria degli studenti borgognoni. Tra i promotori, cioè tra i presentatori del Vergelois all'esame, troviamo infatti Guy de Rochefort, il rettore giurista pavese del 1470-71¹⁰, laureatosi in civile pochi giorni prima, il 1° febbraio 1473¹¹ e diventato personalità di spicco tra Francia e Borgogna.¹² E' interessante registrare la partecipazione del Rochefort all'esame del Vergelois nel ruolo di promotore perché il borgognone alla data non risulta immatricolato nel Collegio pavese dei giuristi. Anche Paul de Baenst parteciperà ad una laurea pur senza essere stato immatricolato nel Collegio.¹³ Quando a Pavia si laureava uno straniero spesso oltre ai testimoni d'ufficio, i bidelli ed il notaio, venivano citati anche conterranei del neolaureato, per motivi che credo di aver spiegato altrove.¹⁴

⁸ *Rodolphi Agricolae Phrisii Lucubrationes* (Coloniae, 1539 = Nieuwkoop, 1967), pp. 221-26; L. Bertalot, 'Rudolf Agricolas Lobrede auf Petrarca', in *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*. Hrsg. v. P. O. Kristeller, 2 voll. (Roma, 1975), II, 21-22; H. E. J. M. Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola (Roelof Huusman), een Nederlands humanist der vijftiende eeuw* (Leiden, 1911), pp. 78-79; M. A. Nauwelaerts, *Rodolphus Agricola* (Den Haag, 1963), p. 29; Sottili, 'Notizie per il soggiorno in Italia di Rodolfo Agricola', in *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius. 1444 — 1485. Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Groningen 28-30 October 1985*. Edited by F. Akkerman and A. J. Vanderjagt (Leiden..., 1988), pp. 91-92.

⁹ E. Motta, 'Studenti svizzeri a Pavia nella seconda metà del 1400', *Bollettino storico della Svizzera italiana*, 7 (1885), 124 n. 3. Non ho ritrovato il documento.

¹⁰ Sottili, *Università e cultura*, p. 257*; Id., *Lauree pavesi*, pp. 221-23.

¹¹ Sottili, *Lauree pavesi*, pp. 220-21.

¹² *Publi Fausti Andrelini Amores sive Livia*. Met een bio-bibliografie van de auteur. Uitgegeven door G. Tournoy-Thoen (Brussel, 1982), p. 482 s. v.

¹³ Laurea di Josse Quevin il 21 ottobre 1474: Sottili, *Lauree pavesi*, pp. 337-39; La Matricola del Collegio dei giuristi è esposta nel Museo storico dell'Università di Pavia.

¹⁴ *Notizie*, p. 84.

E' quanto avviene per il Vergelois che si licenzia «presentibus egregiis viris Domino Paulo de Baenst de Brugis, Domino Iohanne Habrart de Tornaco, Tornacensis diocesis, Domino Tristando de Fontanis, Ambianensis diocesis, et Domino Iohanne Haneton, Cameracensis diocesis». Si tratta di persone provenienti dalla francofonia borgognone e da Tournai: direi proprio che Paul de Baenst, anche se di Brugge, era bilingue, cosa del resto ovvia nell'aristocrazia filoborgognone delle Fiandre.¹⁵ La società accademica riflette i costumi della società dell'epoca, che è organizzata gerarchicamente: nel gruppo dei testimoni Paul de Baenst viene nominato per primo certamente perché è socialmente il più importante. Paul de Baenst venne eletto rettore il 4 luglio 1473 con vicende chiarite altrove.¹⁶ Il fiammingo fu un rettore assiduo perché durante l'anno esatto del suo mandato partecipò ad almeno 30 esami di laurea¹⁷ e si fece sostituire solo molto raramente: il 16 dicembre 1473 per la licenza e il dottorato in civile di Guglielmo Stortiglioni, il 20 successivo per la licenza ed il dottorato in civile di Benedetto da Genova e il 25 giugno 1474 per la licenza in canonico di Johannes Gugel. Per il periodo rettorale di Paul de Baenst è conservata una notizia curiosa e che merita due parole di discussione. A suo tempo E. Picot ha pubblicato una prosopografia degli studenti e dei professori francesi dell'Università di Pavia che continua ad essere una delle fonti migliori per la storia studentesca di questa Università.¹⁸ Al n° 216 leggiamo la notizia seguente: «Monergie (Robert), du diocèse d'Arras; est reçu bachelier ès droits le 9 octobre 1473. Le diplôme à lui délivré par Paul de Brense, de Bruges, recteur des juristes, a été vu par M. l'abbé Maiocchi dans les minutes notariales». Roberto Maiocchi conosceva dunque uno strumento di baccellierato conferito da Paul de Baenst. I documenti notarili sono precisi e quindi la storpiatura di 'Baenst' in 'Brense' va messa in conto a Maiocchi o forse ancor più facilmente a Picot quando lesse le notizie di Maiocchi: storpiature di nomi nell'articolo di Picot non mancano: a p. 73 n° 220 cita il notaio Riccardo Rovescale come Riccardo Rovesiale. Però errori del genere sono facili per chiunque debba combattere col 'mare magnum' della prosopografia

¹⁵ Informazioni sul bilinguismo a Brugge in Geirnaert, 'Bruges et la vie intellectuelle', pp. 232-33.

¹⁶ Sottili, *Università e cultura*, pp. 272*-318*.

¹⁷ Sottili, *Lauree pavesi*, s. v. Baenst, Paul de.

¹⁸ 'Les professeurs et les étudiants de langue française à l'Université de Pavie au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1915, (1916), 8-90.

universitaria specialmente di lingua diversa dalla sua. Maiocchi sapeva naturalmente bene nel pacco di quale notaio il documento si trovava, è però probabile che abbia chiesto a Picot di essere discreto. Il baccellierato è titolo d'obbligo nella disciplina teologica e ne è anche documentato, benché in due soli casi, il suo ufficiale conferimento nel periodo 1450-1475,¹⁹ ma nelle altre discipline mi risulta che il caso del Monergie sia unico: gli strumenti pavesi non ricordano mai che il dottorando in giurisprudenza abbia sostenuto l'esame di baccellierato come premessa dell'esame di laurea. La notizia trasmessa da Picot è tanto più bella perché il conferimento del grado è attribuito al rettore, mentre nei due citati casi il baccellierato è conferito dal viced cancelliere Corrado Marcellini, esattamente come per le lauree. Maiocchi era certamente cosciente dell'importanza del documento perché da esso si ricava che 'de iure' il grado di baccelliere nelle discipline diverse da teologia esisteva ancora, benché ignorato nella prassi e soprattutto senza rilievo ai fini del conseguimento della laurea: si tratta di un relitto.

Dei 30 studenti laureatisi alla presenza di Paul de Baenst solo 14 sono italiani: si tratta di una prova convincente di quanto internazionale fosse in quel momento l'ambiente studentesco pavese. I nomi di famiglie influenti non mancano: Luchino Ferrufini, Antonio Trivulzio, Guido Simonetta e Pietro Grassi, che a Pavia ha fatto carriera universitaria secondo le tradizioni di famiglia.²⁰ I nomi degli studenti stranieri sono però di spicco maggiore ed è comprensibile: il soggiorno all'estero presuppone un'estrazione sociale ed economica di rilievo ed ha come conseguenza la facilitazione nella carriera e quindi una più facile documentabilità. Kaspar Vogt è stato prima canonico e poi prevosto nella collegiata di Unsere Liebe Frau a Baden-Baden;²¹ Gabriel Baumgartner è diventato professore ad Ingolstadt e giurista importante.²² Più numerosi degli studenti di origine tedesca sono quelli provenienti dai paesi borgognoni e francofoni. Immediatamente dopo l'assunzione della

¹⁹ Sottili, *Lauree pavesi*, s. v. Rockhil Erasmus e Vest Johannes.

²⁰ Sottili, '«Sunt nobis Papie omnia iucunda». Il carteggio tra Konrad Nutzel ed Anton Kress, prevosto di San Lorenzo a Norimberga', in *Filologia umanistica. Per Gianvito Resta*, 3 voll. (Padova, 1997), III, 1753, n. 73.

²¹ W. Ludwig, 'Südwestdeutsche Studenten in Pavia 1451-1500', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 48 (1989), 103.

²² G. Bauch, *Die Universität Erfurt im Zeitalter des Frühhumanismus* (Breslau, 1904), pp. 52-53; H. Rupprich, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* (München, 1934), pp. 326-27 n.1; E. P. Goldschmidt, *Hieronymus Münzer* (London, 1938), 14; F. Merzbacher, 'Dr. Anton Kress, Propst von St. Lorenz (1478-1513)', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 58 (1971), 123.

carica da parte di Paul de Baenst si sono laureati due studenti che erano certamente in rapporto col rettore, Arnould de Lalaing e Nicolaus de Monte di Brugge. Poiché il primo si è laureato in utroque l'11 agosto ed il seguente il giorno successivo credo di essere nel giusto affermando che entrambi hanno aspettato l'assunzione del rettorato da parte del loro conterraneo ed amico per concludere ufficialmente gli studi. Trovo Nicolaus de Monte con data d'esame sbagliata (10 invece che 12) nello studio di N. Geirnaert citato a nota 7: p. 239. La tipologia della pubblicazione non ha probabilmente permesso all'Autore di documentare bibliograficamente la notizia. Arnould de Lalaing è invece bibliograficamente molto ben documentabile per la sua carriera universitaria, ecclesiastica e politica. Gli dedica una lunga nota la matricola di Lovanio in riferimento al 20 giugno 1464 quando si immatricolò a Lovanio dopo essere stato studente a Colonia.²³ Questa nota afferma: «Il fut admis au conseil de l'Université de Louvain, le 29 novembre 1473 et créé docteur en l'un et l'autre droit». La notizia della laurea a Lovanio è passata nel profilo tutto sommato meno sostanzioso dedicato a Lalaing da A. J. M. Kerkhoffs-De Heij.²⁴ Che Arnould fosse dottore in utroque è esatto, ma il grado accademico gli fu conferito a Pavia con ricordo della sua dignità di prevosto di St. Salvator a Harelbeke e della Onze-Lieve-Vrouwerk di Brugge: la nota della Matricola lovaniense informa su altre prebende di cui fu beneficiato questo rilevante personaggio dell'autunno del Medioevo²⁵ a proposito del quale basti ricordare che fu consigliere ecclesiastico nel Parlamento di Mechelen:²⁶ la ricezione dell'Umanesimo e quella del diritto romano sono state contemporanee e hanno avuto come protagonisti in parte le medesime persone che avevano fatto in Italia l'esperienza della medesima civiltà.

Tra i testi alla laurea di Nichasius Vergelois è stato elencato un Johannes Haneton della diocesi di Cambrai. Si tratta certamente dell'omonimo studente piccardo laureatosi, rettore de Baenst, il 23 luglio 1474. La logica della migrazione universitaria vuole l'identificazione dello studente pavese con quel Johannes Haneton immatricolatosi a Lovanio nel

²³ Wils, *Matricule*, II, 132.

²⁴ *De Grote Raad*, p. 90.

²⁵ E. de Moreau, 'Les familiers des ducs de Bourgogne dans les canonicats des anciens Pays-Bas', in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen*, 2 voll. (Brussel-Parijs, 1947), I, 431; F. Rapp, 'Universités et principautés: les états bourguignons', in *Milano e Borgogna. Due stati principeschi tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*. A cura di J.-M. Cauchies e G. Chittolini (Roma, 1990), p. 124.

²⁶ Kerkhoffs-De Heij, *De Grote Raad*, p. 90.

1463²⁷ e quindi compagno di Università di Paul de Baenst. Mi sembra ovvia anche la sua identificazione col supposto futuro membro del Gran Consiglio.²⁸ La laurea di Johannes Haneton ha avuto luogo con la consueta corona di conterranei e di borgognoni a certificazione della loro importanza nel contesto della 'nazione' transalpina e ad ulteriore spiegazione dell'elezione a rettore del borgognone de Baenst: «presentibus...Domino Iohanne Achart de Tornacho, Domino Georgio Roels, Tornacensis diocesis, Domino Iohanne Firmino, Morinensis diocesis, et Domino Iohanne Serandat, Matisconensis diocesis». Ragioni di spazio mi costringono ad interrompere la discussione prosopografica degli studenti alla cui laurea ha partecipato Paul de Baenst. Scorrendo però questi documenti ricaviamo il nome della disciplina studiata dal fiammingo a Pavia. La menzione del rettore de Baenst è accompagnata da quella della disciplina in cui era studente, indicata tre volte (26 aprile 1474, licenza e dottorato in canonico di Stefano Notte; 14 maggio 1474, licenza e dottorato in utroque di Stefano Bosia; 1° giugno 1474, licenza e dottorato in canonico di Andrea da Lodi) come 'ius utrumque' e 18 volte come 'ius civile'. In occasione della laurea in canonico di Giacomo Botti (6 settembre 1473) il notaio ha scritto 'ius canonicum' che ha corretto in 'ius civile'. A Pavia Paul de Baenst si faceva qualificare come studente di diritto romano. Poiché il suo dottorato il 10 agosto 1474 è avvenuto in entrambi i diritti è nella logica delle cose pensare che Paul abbia studiato canonico a Lovanio prima di spostarsi a Pavia.²⁹ Il 2 agosto Paul aveva conseguito la licenza e l'avvenuto esame è certificato nel diploma di dottorato.

Elencati i nomi dei dottori che hanno partecipato all'esame il diploma dottorale, attestando l'avvenuta licenza, prosegue col formulario usuale: Paul de Baenst si è sottoposto all' 'examen rigorosum' ed è stato approvato all'unanimità. Gli strumenti di laurea pavesi non danno informazioni sul modo come è stato condotto l'esame e sui 'puncta', i temi che ne erano l'oggetto. Le novità che i singoli documenti contengono rispetto al resto della strumentazione sono minime. Nel caso di Paul de Baenst va registrata la data in cui è avvenuta la licenza, il 2 agosto, come si è appena detto, e il fatto che in quell'occasione è stato rogato un apposito strumento dal notaio Pietro Mombretto, persona diversa dal notaio

²⁷ Wils, *Matricule*, II, 116.

²⁸ Kerkhoffs-De Heij, *De Grote Raad*, p. 85.

²⁹ Il diploma dottorale di de Baenst in Sottili, *Lauree pavesi*, pp. 330-32. Nella stessa opera anche gli altri atti prima citati.

Ludovico Leggi che ha invece rogato lo strumento dottorale. Per descrivere la tipologia della strumentazione di laurea pavese questo particolare è interessante: la licenza di Paul de Baenst è avvenuta nel rispetto formale della normativa compresa la certificazione notarile e questo indipendentemente dal fatto che la licenza del rettore fosse un atto dovuto.³⁰ Ludovico Leggi ha ripreso lo strumento di licenza rogato da Pietro Mombretto e lo ha integrato nello strumento dottorale conservando evidentemente le lacune del documento stilato da Mombretto, la mancanza del nome del quarto promotore in civile e del vicerettore. A proposito di quest'ultimo è formulabile un'ipotesi: Paul de Baenst è straniero e più precisamente 'Burgundus'; può darsi che abbia chiesto ad uno studente delle sue parti di fungere da vicerettore e che quindi siano sorte al notaio difficoltà di ordine ortografico al momento della redazione del documento. Meraviglia che Paul de Baenst non abbia fatto menzionare nessun straniero tra i testimoni al suo dottorato. La loro non menzione potrebbe essere un indice di redazione frettolosa del documento che chiarirebbe anche l'anacoluto: «Cum...per...presentaverint».

Nell'orazione di Agricola pubblicata oltre leggiamo l'affermazione che Paul de Baenst si era perfettamente integrato nel mondo pavese: lo dimostrano i nomi dei sette promotori alla sua licenza. Con l'eccezione di Francesco da Corte, e dunque per sei casi su sette, si tratta non solo di dottori collegiati, ma di professori che insegnavano materie importanti e con stipendi alti. Nel rotolo per il 1473-74, vale a dire per l'anno alla fine del quale ebbe luogo la laurea di Paul de Baenst, Girolamo Mangiaria e Giovanni Antonio da San Giorgio sono i titolari delle due letture ordinarie mattutine di canonico rispettivamente con 450 e 250 fiorini di stipendio pari nel primo caso a 697 lire e 10 soldi e nel secondo caso a 400 lire, senza però la detrazione alla fonte come da disposizione ducale. Gli altri due promotori in canonico, Stefano Costa e Giorgio Natta, sono titolari di due delle quattro letture di Sesto e Clementine rispettivamente con 350 fiorini (642 lire e 10 soldi) e 200 fiorini (310 lire) di stipendio. Come promotori in canonico Paul de Baenst ha dunque quattro dei cinque titolari delle cattedre più importanti della disciplina. Quanto a Giovanni dal Pozzo e Girolamo Torti si tratta nel primo caso del titolare della prima lettura ordinaria di civile con 300 fiorini di stipendio, e nel secondo caso, Girolamo Torti, del secondo titolare della lettura

³⁰ Paragrafo 85 degli Statuti dell'Università legista pavese del 1395: R. Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico dell'Università di Pavia, I, 1361-1400* (Pavia, 1905 = Bologna, 1971), p. 286.

straordinaria serale di civile e insieme, per i 950 fiorini di stipendio, del professore meglio pagato dell'Università di Pavia.³¹ In questo contesto si può avere qualche perplessità a proposito di Francesco da Corte perché nel rotolo per l'anno accademico 1473-74 è registrato come titolare della lettura di Sesto e Clementine Matteo da Corte con 200 fiorini di stipendio. Verrebbe da chiedersi se non siamo davanti ad un errore del notaio che avrebbe scritto Francesco invece di Matteo. Direi che l'errore è da escludere perché Matteo è nell'elenco dei dottori. Francesco da Corte non era del resto un giurista alle prime armi perché era entrato in Collegio l'8 ottobre 1456.³² Il fatto che Paul lo abbia scelto a promotore è indice dell'esistenza di un rapporto particolare con un giurista che non era stato suo professore e quindi dell'esistenza da parte di Paul di relazioni con cittadini pavesi non professori: ma questo nel caso di un rettore e di un giurista è ovvio per la comune partecipazione agli esami di laurea. L'unica cosa ancora da rilevare nello strumento dottorale per Paul de Baenst è il ruolo di Antonio da San Giorgio nella cerimonia: è questi il promotore che ha tenuto la 'laudatio' di rito e ha consegnato al dottorando le insegne.³³

I promotori in civile di Paul de Baenst sono con ogni verosimiglianza anche i professori di cui il fiammingo avrà con più assiduità seguito i corsi. Per il periodo certo di soggiorno di Paul de Baenst a Pavia (1472-1474) l'organico dei professori è relativamente costante,³⁴ cosa del resto

³¹ Attingo tutte queste notizie al rotolo dell'anno accademico in questione conservato all'Archivio di Stato di Milano: Studi. Parte Antica, 390 (7).

³² Pavia. Museo storico dell'Università, Matricola del Collegio giurista.

³³ Antonio da San Giorgio divenne vescovo e cardinale e pronunciò ad esempio l'orazione funebre per il cardinale Ferry de Clugny: J. Ruyschaert, 'La bibliothèque du cardinal de Tournai Ferry de Clugny à la Vaticane', in *Horae Tornacenses* (Tournai, 1971), p. 132. Si veda inoltre ad esempio: R. Maiocchi, *Ticinensia. Noterelle di storia pavese dei secoli XV e XVI* (Pavia, 1900), pp. 41-44; L. Buzás, 'Die Bibliothek des Ingolstädter Professors Dr. Wolfgang Peysser in der Universitätsbibliothek München', *Sammelblatt des historischen Vereins Ingolstadt*, 71(1962), 86; A. A. Strnad, 'Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini. Politik und Mäzenatentum im Quattrocento', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 8. u. 9 (1964-65 u. 1965-66), 419 s. v.; Merzbacher, 'Dr. Anton Kress', 127; W. Setz, *Lorenzo Vallas Schrift gegen die Konstantinische Schenkung. De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione. Zur Interpretation und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1975), pp. 130-37; *Quinto Centenario della Biblioteca Vaticana. Catalogo della Mostra*, (Città del Vaticano, 1975), p. 35; H. Diener, 'Die Mitglieder der päpstlichen Kanzlei des 15. Jahrhunderts und ihre Tätigkeit in den Wissenschaften und Künsten, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 69 (1989), 118.

³⁴ Oltre alla fonte archivistica milanese citata a nota 31 attingo le notizie alla raccolta di rotoli conservata all'Archivio di Stato di Pavia: *Acta Studii Ticinensis*, 22.

ovvia perché i professori delle cattedre principali contrattavano il posto per più anni. Sull'ordinaria mattutina di civile abbiamo per tutto il periodo Giovanni dal Pozzo e Ambrogio Oppizoni. Si è visto sopra che Giovanni dal Pozzo è stato promotore in civile di de Baenst: qui abbiamo la prova del nove che Paul de Baenst è stato suo allievo. Durante tutto il periodo ha insegnato Luca Grassi con salario invariato, prima all'ordinaria mattutina, poi alla straordinaria serale. Sempre alla straordinaria serale ha insegnato per tutto il periodo Girolamo Torti, il professore meglio pagato del gruppo e promotore in civile di Paul che andrà dunque registrato con certezza tra i suoi allievi. Restano tre nomi di rilievo: Lancellotto Decio fino al 1473, Giovanni Campise e Giason del Maino nel 1473-74. Con Giason del Maino si cita uno dei nomi più illustri della giurisprudenza pavese che Paul de Baenst ha certo conosciuto perché membro del Collegio, ma che non ha scelto come promotore. Piuttosto va verificato se il 1472-73 vada veramente considerato come il primo anno accademico pavese di Paul de Baenst. Non conosco su di lui notizie tra l'immatricolazione a Lovanio, 30 agosto 1464, e il salvacondotto del 16 aprile del 1472 che lo documenta a Pavia. Occorre riflettere su di una frase della 'laudatio' di Agricola: «Praeteriti autem et incipientis aevi ego illi, posterioris vos mihi estis locupletissimi testes». Questa frase indica chiaramente che Agricola ha conosciuto Paul de Baenst prima che entrambi venissero in Italia. Parlando Agricola di 'incipiens aevum' si deve pensare al tempo passato da Paul de Baenst a Lovanio attorno al 1464-1467: il 1464-65 è il primo anno di de Baenst a Lovanio, il 1465 è l'anno del 'magisterium' in arti di Agricola, il 1466-67 è l'anno di una possibile immatricolazione di Agricola a Lovanio per canonico.³⁵ Si può pensare con parecchia certezza ad una comunanza di studi artistici tra Agricola e Paul a Lovanio attorno al 1465 e ipotizzare una più tarda solidarietà di studi decretalistici di entrambi nella stessa Università prima della discesa di Agricola in Italia (1468?). Gli studenti ed i pavesi in genere hanno però avuto la possibilità di conoscere bene Paul de Baenst nel 'posterius aevum'. Agricola non accenna a tappe universitarie intermedie e tra Lovanio e Pavia probabilmente non ce ne sono state. La frase che arriva a questo punto suggerisce comunque una permanenza di un certo periodo di Paul de Baenst a Pavia perché Agricola ci illustra come il fiammingo fosse noto agli studenti pavesi di giurisprudenza i quali hanno potuto ammirare la sua «circa litteras

³⁵ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, pp. 58-59.

diligentia», la sua «assidua studiorum opera», la sua intelligenza pronta, esercitata, rinforzata da ottime conoscenze sia nel senso della formazione generale ('doctrina') quanto in quello delle conoscenze quantitative ('eruditio'), l'ottima confidenza col giure e le altre qualità molto utili ad uno studente di diritto e tutte in maniera eccellente: l'abitudine alla lettura continuativa, un'ottima memoria, la capacità di giudicare con certezza. Al genere della 'laudatio' va fatta la sua parte, tuttavia il catalogo delle doti di Paul de Baenst note agli uditori è così dettagliato da presupporre una vasta notorietà dell'interessato. A Pavia per essere eletti rettori bisognava aver soggiornato almeno un anno all'Università:³⁶ a tale condizione Paul de Baenst ottemperava senza problemi. Personalmente tenderei ad ampliare il periodo del suo soggiorno a Pavia piuttosto che a restringerlo attribuendo alle lacune della tradizione la mancanza per ora di ulteriore documentazione.

Dopo il dottorato Paul de Baenst si fermò per almeno circa tre mesi a Pavia come è dimostrato da tre documenti che meritano di essere discussi tanto in rapporto a Paul de Baenst quanto per la loro rilevanza in sede di storia dell'Università ticinese. I documenti in questione sono una lettera del 21 agosto 1474 indirizzata al duca di Milano da parte dei dottori in utroque del Collegio pavese dei dottori giuristi e dei giudici, la presenza di Paul de Baenst alla licenza in civile dello studente borgognone Carolus de Vasis il 25 agosto e la partecipazione alla licenza in civile di Josse Quevin il 21 ottobre successivo. Il primo problema da risolvere è trovare una motivazione per questa prolungata sosta a Pavia dopo il compimento degli studi. Paul de Baenst era stato rettore; il rettore uscente era tenuto a fermarsi a Pavia un mese dopo la decadenza dal mandato conformemente alle disposizioni statutarie. Il paragrafo quarto degli Statuti dell'Università legista del 1395 recita testualmente:³⁷ «Iurabit (il rettore) eciam stare in civitate Papie per mensem integrum post finem sui regiminis». Paul de Baenst ha ottemperato agli Statuti ed è rimasto a Pavia. Sui motivi di questo soggiorno illuminano le disposizioni del paragrafo 44 dei medesimi Statuti da aggiornare alla situazione del 1474. I sindaci dell'Università sono tenuti sotto giuramento a sottoporre a sindacato il rettore uscente e gli altri ufficiali

³⁶ Si ricava questa condizione, penso, dalla lettera con cui gli studenti stranieri cercano di impedire la nomina di Ludovico d'Ala a rettore: Sottili, *Università e cultura*, pp. 300*- 301*.

³⁷ Se ne veda il testo completo nel già citato *Codice diplomatico* edito da Roberto Maiocchi.

dell'Università condannandoli o assolvendoli secondo giustizia. De Baenst si è fermato a Pavia in primo luogo perché ha dovuto sottoporsi all'indagine di questa commissione che avveniva veramente, come è confermato da altre fonti.³⁸ Lo Statuto parla di indagine da compiersi entro un mese dall'elezione del nuovo rettore. In carica nell'agosto del 1474 era, come si ricava dai diplomi di laurea del periodo, lo spagnolo Ludovico d'Ala, che non era stato eletto, ma che era subentrato al rettore eletto scappato da Pavia per i debiti contratti. Lo Statuto risale ai tempi in cui l'elezione avveniva il quattro agosto, pochi giorni prima dell'entrata in carica: 10 agosto. Una modifica di Statuto aveva spostato l'elezione al 4 luglio.³⁹ Non è pensabile che il rettore venisse sottoposto a sindacato quando era ancora in carica e cioè nel periodo successivo all'elezione del nuovo rettore, ma anteriore alla sua entrata in carica. Lo Statuto veniva certamente interpretato considerando come termine di partenza per il lavoro della commissione sindacatoria non il giorno dell'elezione del nuovo rettore, ma quello della sua effettiva entrata in carica, cioè il 10 agosto. Statutariamente Paul de Baenst doveva fermarsi a Pavia almeno fino all'11 settembre. I punti su cui il rettore era tenuto a rendere conto sono fissati molto dettagliatamente nel paragrafo 44 degli Statuti. In primo luogo viene la mancata esazione delle multe e subito dopo l'essersi impossessato di denari o l'aver permesso che altri lo facessero. Il rettore può essere comunque condannato per qualsiasi negligenza commessa nell'osservanza degli Statuti. Questo vale tanto per lui come per i suoi ufficiali con specificazione che la condanna viene pronunciata in particolare applicando la 'privatio', cioè con la sospensione dai privilegi universitari per le mancanze fatte. Per i limiti del soggiorno di Paul de Baenst a Pavia è importante sapere che la sentenza di assoluzione o condanna non può venir pronunciata prima che siano trascorsi venti giorni dall'elezione, da interpretarsi come si è detto come entrata in carica del nuovo rettore. Questo conferma che de Baenst era tenuto a restare a Pavia un mesetto. Contro il rettore era ammessa denuncia scritta da parte di chiunque, ma comunque entro dieci giorni

³⁸ Protesta contro la condanna inflittagli dai sindacatori l'ex rettore Pietro Sarti da Voghera nel settembre 1440: Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico*, II 1, pp. 408-409; Ibid. a p. 140 una notizia sulla nomina del collegio dei sindacatori. Dell'operazione di sindacazione si parla apertamente nella documentazione relativa alle vicende postrettorali di Pietro di Lussemburgo: Sottili, 'Il palio per l'altare di Santa Caterina e il 'dossier' sul rettorato di Giovanni di Lussemburgo', *Annali di storia pavese*, 18-19 (1989), 99.

³⁹ *Die Statuten der Universität Pavia vom Jahre 1396*. Hrsg. von J. Hürbin, (Luzern, 1898), p. 69.

dall'elezione del collegio sindacatorio. Le denunce presentate in data posteriore non dovevano essere tenute in considerazione. Al rettore uscente, e quindi a Paul de Baenst, era concesso il diritto di appellarsi al nuovo rettore che avrebbe convocato i suoi consiglieri ed avrebbe esaminato il caso con eventuale diminuzione o abolizione della condanna. Se qualche denuncia risultava falsa, il denunciante veniva costretto a riparare e veniva inoltre privato dei privilegi universitari. Per pronunciarsi sull'appello del rettore uscente, il nuovo rettore ed i suoi consiglieri hanno otto giorni di tempo. Per presentare appello, il condannato ha tempo dieci giorni. Il nuovo rettore porterà ad adempimento la condanna pronunciata dai sindacatori entro un mese. Se lo Statuto in questione non viene applicato nella forma corretta, qualsiasi atto compiuto con riferimento ad esso è da considerarsi nullo.

La presenza di Paul de Baenst alla laurea di Carolus de Vasis (25 agosto 1474) non si presta a considerazioni particolari: il candidato è borgognone ed i testimoni sono qualificati tutti di borgognoni.⁴⁰ Trovare tra di loro Paul de Baenst non sorprende perchè egli era borgognone per ragioni politiche e sentimentali. L'unica cosa forse interessante è la partecipazione ad un esame dove a data avanzata nell'agosto 1474 era presente Ludovico d'Ala. A quest'epoca era già cominciata la prova di forza tra gli studenti tedeschi, che non volevano Ala come rettore, ma pretendevano che il posto toccasse ad uno studente eletto da loro. Ma su queste cose non intendo tornare perché ripetutamente esposte.⁴¹ Vale forse solo la pena sottolineare che Paul de Baenst si sentiva poco toccato dalla vicenda se avallava con la sua presenza un atto compiuto in presenza del nemico giurato degli studenti tedeschi oppure, essendo sottoposto a sindacato, doveva stare al gioco.

Più interessante è invece per molti rispetti la lettera datata 21 agosto 1474 e inviata dai dottori in utroque del Collegio dei dottori e dei giudici di Pavia al duca di Milano a raccomandazione di Paul de Baenst. La lettera va tenuta in considerazione in primo luogo per la firma del mittente: «doctores utriusque Collegii doctorum atque iudicum felicissimi Papiensis Gymnasii». Il Collegio dei dottori che esaminava gli studenti candidati alla licenza e al dottorato era identico a Pavia col Collegio dei giudici. E' questa una constatazione di non poco rilievo per la storia delle istituzioni pavesi. Firma però solo una parte del Collegio, i dottori

⁴⁰ Oltre a de Baenst, «Dominus Petrus Pancoti» e «Dominus Carolus Bernardi»: Sottili, *Lauree pavesi*, p. 336.

⁴¹ Vedi nota 6.

in utroque, colleghi di Paul de Baenst, che da poco era diventato dottore. Basta una rapida lettura della missiva per giungere alla conclusione che essa è opera di un umanista. Vocabolario, periodare, concetti provengono dalla penna di un umanista. Non viene usato il termine tradizionale 'Studium' per indicare quella che oggi chiamiamo Università, ma dal vocabolario dell'antichità vengono ricavate le parole 'achademia' e 'gymnasium'.⁴² Il catalogo delle virtù di de Baenst è fortemente simile a quello della 'laudatio' di Agricola. Per dirla in breve mi sembra formulabile l'ipotesi che Paul de Baenst si sia fatto scrivere la lettera da Agricola e che i dottori l'abbiano firmata. Si tratta di una perfetta dichiarazione di ottimo comportamento la cui ragione va proprio cercata forse nel fatto che Paul de Baenst si trovava sottoposto a sindacato. E' probabile che si tratti di un intervento per evitargli indesiderate noie e per noi di uno stato di servizio gradevolmente positivo. Paul de Baenst è ancora a Pavia il 21 ottobre 1474 quando è elencato come ultimo tra i dottori che hanno esaminato Josse Quevin, futuro membro del Gran Consiglio e figlio di Jan, originario di Brugge.⁴³

Il 10 agosto 1473 ha avuto luogo a Pavia in sedute successive la laurea del rettore uscente, Antonio Bugerini, e l'entrata in carica del nuovo rettore, Paul de Baenst. Ne siamo matematicamente certi perché possediamo lo strumento dottorale per il Bugerini e l'orazione di Agricola per de Baenst. Lo strumento dottorale ricorda che la laurea è avvenuta all'ora di terza e in duomo. C'è da fare una precisazione: nel corpo del documento si parla di chiesa cattedrale, nella datazione invece di aula magna del palazzo vescovile. E' errata con certezza l'indicazione della datazione: il notaio ha l'abitudine di scrivere che gli esami e le cerimonie dottorali hanno avuto luogo nell'aula magna; mentre dunque nel testo dà come luogo la cattedrale, nella nota si sbaglia e per abitudine indica l'aula magna. Lo strumento per Paul de Baenst del 10 agosto 1474 indica parimenti come luogo della cerimonia la cattedrale e come orario terza. Direi che proprio per ragioni di orario la laurea del dottore uscente precedeva l'insediamento del successore. Al predecessore di Paul de Baenst sono dedicate alcune righe dell'orazione di Agricola che si mantiene però nell'ambito di una terminologia classicheggiante e non dice molto sulla posizione di Bugerini in quel momento: mi sembra però evidente che fosse già decaduto dalla carica di rettore.

⁴² Sottili, *Università e cultura*, p. 300*.

⁴³ Kerkhoffs-De Heij, *De Grote Raad*, pp. 116-17: non è menzionata la laurea pavese.

Il rettorato di Bugerini è ben documentato e Agricola deve aver avuto ragione nel parlarne pubblicamente bene. Di Bugerini conserviamo una firma autografa apposta nella sua qualità di rettore in calce alla supplica di Enrico da Conte mirante ad ottenere la titolarità di teologia che suppliva in luogo di Rolando Rovescala.⁴⁴ Controfirma il rettore medico-artista Mathias Richli che a scrivere in umanistica ha probabilmente imparato a Pavia e che è nome ben noto agli studiosi di Agricola.⁴⁵ Dopo gli studi Bugerini, che era di Cremona, ha fatto carriera nell'amministrazione sforzesca come altri della sua famiglia: è documentato come capitano di Cotignola il 1° luglio 1477, è a disposizione come vicario e sindacatore generale il 21 dicembre 1480, è podestà di Varese il 3 luglio 1490.⁴⁶ Ha avuto dunque la sorte di altri studenti dell'Università di Pavia passati dalle aule universitarie all'amministrazione: l'Università di Pavia era un'istituzione statale col compito tra altro di preparare il ceto dirigente.

L'orazione pronunciata da Agricola la mattina del 10 agosto 1473 in lode di Paul de Baenst è tradita da un solo manoscritto, però molto importante per la storia dell'Umanesimo tedesco perché in molti casi testimone unico di scritti di Agricola, il Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 36 della Württembergische Landesbibliothek di Stoccarda. L'orazione si trova ai ff. 343r-348r della nuova fogliatura.⁴⁷ I ff. in questione corrispondono ai ff. 328r-334r della fogliatura antica.⁴⁸ Il catalogo stoccardense in corrispondenza all'orazione per Paul de Baenst ha un rimando ad un articolo di P. S. Allen,⁴⁹ dove sull'orazione non si dice tuttavia nulla: per la figura dell'autore, per la storia della famiglia de Baenst, per le vicende culturali degli Stati borgognoni e per la storia dell'Università di Pavia l'orazione merita un'edizione che potrebbe anche non essere quella definitiva perché il testo è certamente corrotto in più punti e quindi bisognoso di emendazione. La storia del codice è chiarita da una lettera dell'Umanista Johannes von Pleningen al suo giustamente più noto

⁴⁴ Milano, Archivio di Stato, Comuni 69.

⁴⁵ G. C. Huisman, *Rudolph Agricola. A Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations* (Nieuwkoop, 1985), pp. 117-20.

⁴⁶ C. Santoro, *Gli uffici del dominio sforzesco 1450-1500* (Milano, 1948), pp. 106, 220, 588.

⁴⁷ *Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. Erste Reihe. Zweiter Band. Codices poetici et philologici*. Beschrieben von W. Irtenkauf und I. Krekler mit Vorarbeiten von I. Dumke (Wiesbaden, 1981), pp. 102-104.

⁴⁸ Sottili, *I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale*, 2 voll. (Padova, 1970 e 1978), p. (569).

⁴⁹ 'The Letters of Rudolph Agricola', *The English Historical Review*, 21(1906), 310.

fratello Dietrich, giurista e «iuditii Camere regalis assessor». Dietrich von Plieningen venne delegato per desiderio di Massimiliano I il 24 luglio 1494 al Reichskammergericht che venne costituito nell'ottobre 1495.⁵⁰ Queste date sono forse importanti per la storia del manoscritto. Johannes von Plieningen ha infatti narrato al fratello per lettera di aver fatto copiare il *De inventione dialectica* e gli altri opuscoli di Agricola, tanto quelli da lui composti quanto quelli tradotti dal greco, da Johannes Pfeutzer, copista altrimenti noto.⁵¹ Nell'indirizzo della lettera Dietrich è chiamato non solo 'legum professor', titolo che non necessariamente indica una sua attività di insegnante all'Università (di Heidelberg), ma anche 'Assessor' al Reichskammergericht. Il codice è stato dunque terminato dopo la nomina di Dietrich a questa carica, cioè dopo il 20 luglio 1494, ma l'idea di far allestire un'edizione o una messa in bella delle opere di Agricola è probabilmente anteriore. Essa è espressa in una lettera di Dietrich a Johannes dove questi viene esortato a comporre una biografia di Agricola.⁵² Dietrich si definisce 'legum professor', ma non «iuditii Camere regalis assessor»: dunque l'idea di far allestire il codice e di far comporre la biografia dovrebbe essere nata prima della nomina all'alta carica e prima dovrebbe essere avvenuta anche la composizione della biografia da parte di Johannes per la medesima mancanza del titolo di 'assessor' nella lettera in cui Johannes comunica a Dietrich di aver scritto l'operetta:⁵³ la trascrizione di Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 36 va assegnata al periodo attorno al 1493-95 e a Worms.

Johannes von Plieningen ha una buona opinione del lavoro di Johannes Pfeutzer: «perdiligenter emendateque redegit». Johannes ha inoltre ricollazionato tutto il lavoro: «Omnia namque cum exemplaribus ipse contuli». Per le mende che contiene, l'orazione per Paul de Baenst non dipende da un autografo di Agricola e non è stata collazionata con

⁵⁰ F. Adelman, *Dietrich von Plieningen, Humanist und Staatsmann* (München, 1981), p. 48.

⁵¹ E. Kyriass, 'Italienische Einbände der Spätgotik im Ausland', in *Studi di bibliografia e storia in onore di Tammaro De Marinis* (s.l., 1964), III, 38-39 (Stuttgart, Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 23; Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 26); U. Sieber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Korbinger Stiftsbibliothek* (Köln, 1969) (datt.), p. 81 (Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 27); *Die Handschriften*, pp. 17-18 (Cod. poet. et phil. 2° 20), p. 89 (Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 23), p. 91 (Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 26), pp. 95-96 (Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 30).

⁵² W. Straube, 'Die Agricola-Biographie des Johannes von Plieningen', in *Rudolf Agricola. 1444-1485. Protagonist des nordeuropäischen Humanismus zum 550. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von W. Kühlmann (Bern..., 1994), pp. 11-48.

⁵³ Le lettere di Johannes e Dietrich von Plieningen in: F. Pfeifer, 'Rudolf Agricola', *Serapeum*, 7 (1849), 99-100.

un autografo anche se sono evidenti i segni di una revisione che mi sembra però fatta più per 'divinatio' che per collazione. In teoria dovrebbe trattarsi, quanto al correttore, di Johannes von Plieningen: a mio avviso ha tuttavia ragione Pfeifer nel vedere all'opera nel codice più di una mano. Personalmente credo ci sia una corresponsabilità di Dietrich von Plieningen, ma rimando i dettagli ad altra occasione limitandomi a segnalare che il copista dell'orazione per Paul de Baenst è certamente Pfeutzer.⁵⁴

Ha affermato Girolamo (*Ep.*, LX 74, *PL* 22, 593) che quando si fa la 'laudatio' di qualcuno secondo i precetti dei retori si deve partire risalendo molto indietro nella storia della famiglia avvicinandocisi poi gradualmente all'interessato. Girolamo aveva alle spalle *Rhet. ad Her.*, III 6 e Quint., III 7, 10-18 e certamente altro. Agricola si attiene a questi precetti e loda la patria di Paul de Baenst, ma senza dettagli, e i principi, soprattutto Carlo il Temerario, che questi patrizi di Brugge hanno servito, e fa la storia delle famiglie paterna e materna, de Baenst e Losschaert. Padre di Paul, declama Agricola, è stato Lodewijk senior e fratello Lodewijk junior. Lodewijk de Baenst senior è soprattutto conosciuto per la lapide ricordo sua e della sua famiglia conservata nella Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk di Brugge. Foto modeste, ma utili si trovano in una comoda guida alle chiese di Brugge, buona per avere un'idea del contesto artistico e politico in cui più di un membro della famiglia de Baenst ha trovato sepoltura.⁵⁵ Si tratta della chiesa dove sono sepolti Carlo il Temerario e Maria di Borgogna e dove era conservato il sarcofago di Lodewijk van Gruuthuse e di sua moglie Margareta van Borssele.⁵⁶ Il nome di Gruuthuse, se evoca il mondo favoloso e lussuoso dell'autunno

⁵⁴ Uno 'specimen' a colori della sua mano ed una tavola in bianco e nero in *Biographie zwischen Renaissance und Barock. Zwölf Studien*. Hrsg. von W. Berschin (Heidelberg, 1993). Una riproduzione della prima pagina della vita di Agricola composta da Johannes von Plieningen e della lettera con cui Johannes comunica a Dietrich l'avvenuta composizione della vita di Agricola in: F. Akkerman, 'Rudolf Agricola, een Humanistenleven', *Algemeen Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Wijsbegeerte*, 75(1983), 29 e 35.

⁵⁵ J. de Vincennes, *Kerken te Brugge*. Vertaling A. De Vyt. Foto's R. d'Ursel (Brugge, s.a.), pp. 47-65, Afb. 11-12. Due foto ed un'ampia illustrazione nel libro mastro dell'iconografia tombale brugense: V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578, Catalogus*, 3 voll. (Brugge, 1976), II, 350-53.

⁵⁶ Tre disegni in: Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, 266, 269, 270. Nella stessa opera un'ampissima illustrazione delle tombe di Maria di Borgogna (II, 368-89) e di Carlo il Temerario: III, 686-99. Per la tomba cinquecentesca del Temerario anche: R. Mullie, *Monuments de Bruges. 2^e partie. Les grands monuments funéraires* (Bruxelles, 1960), pp. 80-81; alle pp. 82-84 la tomba di Maria.

del Medioevo, suscita anche il ricordo di una ricca e importante biblioteca, soprattutto per la letteratura francese, ma anche per quella neerlandese (*Gruuthuse-handschrift*)⁵⁷ e meno, molto meno per quella latina.⁵⁸ Il monumento ricordato di Lodewijk de Baenst senior non è la lapide della sua tomba che si trovava, pare, nel cimitero di Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk.⁵⁹ E' conservato il testo dell'iscrizione di questa tomba dal quale risulta la data di morte di Lodewijk (12 luglio 1454) e di Clara Losschaert sua moglie (28 agosto 1458)⁶⁰ avvenute dunque entrambe molto prima che Paul iniziasse i suoi studi a Pavia. Agricola dedica a Lodewijk senior pochissime parole e dà una sola notizia concreta: «magna prudentia atque industria summum civitatis magistratum saepe gessit», indicando con questo che ebbe la carica di borgomastro, come specifica R. Mullie⁶¹ borgomastro del comune. La stessa fonte è rapida e dettagliata sul 'cursus honorum' di Lodewijk senior, che merita di essere ripreso a specificazione delle lodi fatte a Paul da Agricola per la provenienza familiare. Come borgomastro insieme a Filip Metteneye, un cognome che incontreremo di nuovo poco oltre, lo troviamo ricordato nel documento con cui la città di Brugge incarica il capitolo di St. Donaas⁶² di celebrare ogni 22 maggio la solenne liturgia imposta dal duca Filippo il Buono alla città nel trattato di riconciliazione. Il documento è del 29 maggio 1448 e dunque Lodewijk fu borgomastro in questo tempo.⁶³ Nel 1449 è stato uno dei fondatori della confraternita nobile del preziosissimo sangue insieme ad altri tra cui Antoon

⁵⁷ M. P. J. Martens ed altri, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse Mecenat en Europees diplomaat ca. 1427-1492* (Brugge, 1992); J. B. Oosterman, 'A Prayer of one's own: rhymed Prayers and their authors in Bruges in the first half of the Fifteenth Century', in *Flanders in a European perspective. Manuscript Illumination around 1400 Flanders and Abroad. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven 7-10 September 1993*. Ed. by M. Smeyers and B. Cardon (Leuven, 1995), pp. 734-36.

⁵⁸ *Vlaamse kunst op perkament. Handschriften en miniaturen te Brugge van de 12de tot de 16de eeuw* (Brugge, 1981), pp. 207-277.

⁵⁹ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, 195, 352.

⁶⁰ Mullie, *Monuments de Bruges. 4e partie. Les monuments commémoratifs* (Woluwe-Saint-Lambert, 1960), p. 36.

⁶¹ *Monuments de Bruges. 4e partie*, p. 35.

⁶² Per un'informazione generale: *Sint Donaas en de voormalige Brugse katedraal* (Brugge, 1978). Sul capitolo di Sint-Donaas è intervenuto ripetutamente R. De Keyser. Cito ad esemplificazione: 'Chanoines séculiers et Universités: le cas de Saint-Donatien de Bruges (1350-1450)', in *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages*. Ed. by J. IJsewijn and J. Paquet (Leuven, 1978), pp. 584-97.

⁶³ L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges. Section première. Inventaire des chartes. Première série. Treizième au seizième siècle*, (Brugge, 1876), V, pp. 285-87.

Losschaert, ricordato come scabino nel documento precedente.⁶⁴ Della confraternita Lodewijk fu il primo prevosto nel medesimo anno 1449. Era stato tesoriere della città di Brugge nel 1443 e 'hoofdman' nel 1444.⁶⁵ Il monumento ha al centro la vergine sotto un baldacchino sorretto da due angeli secondo una tipologia comune ad altri monumenti contemporanei come quello per Jacob van den Velde († 1464), Jacob van den Velde junior († 1490) e Catharina de Keyt († 1483) pure conservato nella Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk.⁶⁶ Dritti a fianco della Vergine sono rappresentati San Luigi re di Francia e santa Chiara e in ginocchio Lodewijk e Clara Losschaert sua moglie. Su Clara Losschaert Agricola non sa nulla oltre al nome e al cognome perché l'aggettivo di cui la qualifica è il più ovvio tra quanti si possono tirare in ballo per una madre di famiglia: «Hic (*scilicet Ludovicus*) ex honestissima coniuge sua Clara Loscarda...genuit». Clara era figlia del ricordato Antoon Losschaert († 3 ottobre 1458) e di Margareta de Hondt,⁶⁷ il cui sepolcro, perduto, si trovava a Brugge nella Augustijnerkerk ed è scomparso come è scomparsa la chiesa.⁶⁸ Il padre di Clara potrebbe essere quell'Antoon Losschaert presentato al duca con altri sette personaggi per la carica di 'receveur', che però non gli venne affidata.⁶⁹ Antoon e Margareta ebbero un figlio pure chiamato Antoon e nominato insieme alla madre in un documento del 5 maggio 1467.⁷⁰ Dovrebbe trattarsi dell'Antoon Losschaert conosciuto come tutore di Cornelia de Hondt,⁷¹ morto il 1° o il 2 giugno 1495 e seppellito con la moglie Catharina de Witte pure nell'Augustijnerkerk.⁷² La morte di Antoon Losschaert junior è ricordata

⁶⁴ J. Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc ou leur magistrature et leur noblesse* (Brugge, 1859), III, 368.

⁶⁵ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc* (Brugge, 1857), I, 29-30. Il monumento ricordo di Lodewijk de Baenst senior ha una ricca bibliografia. Si veda ad esempio: M. Selschotter, 'Gebeeldhouwde grafsteenen uit de XVe en XVIe eeuw te Brugge', *Kunst. Maandblad voor oude en jonge kunst*, 3(1932), 180. Un interrogativo sull'identificazione dei personaggi del monumento avanza: *Aanwijzende fotografische inventaris van de drie rechterlijke kantons Brugge* (Antwerpen, 1965), pp. 149-50.

⁶⁶ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, 358 Pl. 171.

⁶⁷ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, I, 30.

⁶⁸ Mullie, *Monuments de Bruges. 3e partie. Les pierres tombales* (Woluwe-Saint-Lambert, 1961), p. 144.

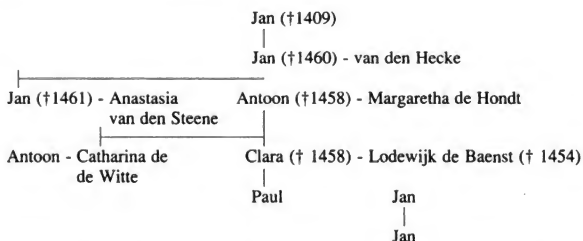
⁶⁹ H. Nelis, *Chambre des comptes de Lille. Catalogue des chartes du sceau de l'audience* (Bruxelles, 1915), p. 212 n° 960.

⁷⁰ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 469-71.

⁷¹ *Monasticon belge. Tome III. Province de la Flandre Orientale*, (Liège, 1978), IV, 1044.

⁷² Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, III, 408; Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, IV, 90, 92, 111; V, 68; Mullie, *Monuments de Bruges. 3e partie*, p. 145.

dal cronista de Doppere che, come si vedrà, non fu tenero con Paul: «(1495) die Martis 2° junii obiit Brugis Antonius Losschardus filius Antonii, civis honestus, ex maerore et tristitia quod nemini civitas solveret de mutuo, aut de rebus etc. licet intolerabiles solverentur calliotes; sed vorabant omnia domini». ⁷³ Il cronista riconosce l'onestà di Antoon, ma Agricola non menziona né lui né suo padre: forse tra Paul ed i parenti prossimi di parte materna c'era qualche distanza o divergenza. Anche Antoon Losschaert junior fu comunque dalla parte di Massimiliano I e nel 1492 fu con altri liberato per un certo tempo «ab exactione reddituum seu onerum civitatis Brugensis». ⁷⁴ Agricola ci fornisce due importanti indicazioni per ampliare l'ascendenza materna di Paul de Baenst: «Transeam proavum matrem Iohannem Loscardum, hominem probatissimae virtutis atque aestimationis; transeam magnum avunculum Iohannem». Concretamente l'albero genealogico di Paul de Baenst da parte materna ha l'aspetto seguente:



Paul de Baenst ebbe dunque secondo Agricola un prozio materno di nome Jan e Jan si chiamava anche il nonno. Il prozio di Paul era un familiare di Filippo il Buono. Devo confessare di avere qualche difficoltà a districarmi tra questi omonimi della famiglia Losschaert. Qualche personaggio mi sembra comunque tranquillamente eliminabile. Questo vale in primo luogo per quel Iohannes Losschaert della diocesi di Tournai che si è immatricolato a Lovanio il 7. 9. 1473 e per un altro Iohannes Losschaert, ma della diocesi di Cambrai pure immatricolato a Lovanio:

⁷³ *Fragments inédits de Rombout de Doppere découverts dans un manuscrit de Jacques de Meyere publiés par le P. Henri Dussar. Chronique brugeoise de 1491 à 1498* (Brugge, 1892), p. 52.

⁷⁴ Rombout de Doppere, *Fragments*, p. 41.

23 luglio 1478.⁷⁵ Entrambi gli studenti sono coetanei di Paul de Baenst e quindi troppo giovani per essere candidati a fargli da prozio e da bisnonno. Poiché il nonno di Paul de Baenst Antoon Losschaert è morto nel 1458 e poiché Filippo il Buono incominciò a regnare nel 1419 resta escluso che il prozio di Paul de Baenst, in ottimi rapporti con Filippo il Buono, sia quel Jan Losschaert sepolto con la moglie Margareta van der Stove (25 maggio 1392) nella Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk e morto il 12 settembre 1409.⁷⁶ Il problema è però forse solubile almeno in via ipotetica. Antoon Losschaert, il nonno materno di Paul de Baenst, era figlio di Jan e di una van den Hecke.⁷⁷ Vermeersch conosce la lastra tombale per un Jan Losschaert morto il 20 aprile 1461, ma sposato con Anastasia van den Steene: † 7 aprile 1470.⁷⁸ Il testo dell'epigrafe è dato da R. Mullie⁷⁹ e ne risulta che il defunto era figlio di Jan esattamente come il prozio di Paul. Nella stessa chiesa degli Eremitani di Sant'Agostino a Brugge si trovava una tomba per un altro Jan pure figlio di Jan e morto nel 1460.⁸⁰ Per Vermeersch si tratta di una medesima persona col precedente ed è magari probabile che abbia ragione, ma altrettanto probabile è che il primo sia il prozio di Paul. Indipendentemente da una più precisa identificazione sulla persona in questione e cioè se si tratti del nonno o del prozio di Paul de Baenst, un Jan Losschaert è documentato in diverse occasioni nella vita pubblica di Brugge. Ai primi di novembre 1444 Charles d'Orléans poté finalmente lasciare Londra e la duchessa Isabella di Borgogna lo attese a Gravelines. Anche Filippo il Buono fu ad accoglierlo e insieme andarono a Saint-Omer dove furono alloggiati nell'abbazia di Saint-Bertin. Charles d'Orléans giurò di osservare il trattato di Arras e si celebrarono le sue nozze con la nipote di Filippo il Buono, Maria figlia di Adolfo duca di Kleve: 15 novembre 1440.⁸¹

⁷⁵ Wils, *Matricule*, II, 295, 377.

⁷⁶ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, 86.

⁷⁷ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, IV, 111.

⁷⁸ *Grafmonumenten*, II, 231.

⁷⁹ *Monuments de Bruges*, III, 144-45.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 144.

⁸¹ H. Will, *Maria von Burgund, Herzogin von Kleve* (Kleve, 1967), pp. 25-26 e 'Maria von Kleve, Herzogin von Orléans', *Kalender für das Klever Land auf das Jahr 1977*, 91-96. Per la biblioteca di Maria: *Vlaamse kunst*, p. 237; A. Baumeister, in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte. Die Herzogtümer Jülich, Kleve, Berg* (Kleve, 1985), p. 367; W. Schnütgen, *Literatur am Klevischen Hof vom hohen Mittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit* (Kleve, 1990), pp. 44-45. Gli avvenimenti di Saint-Omer si leggono romanziati in H. S. Haasse, *Het woud der verwachting. Het leven van Charles van Orléans*, (Amsterdam, 1990, 14a edizione), pp. 486-500.

Si celebrò inoltre un capitolo dell'ordine del Toson d'oro. Durante questi festeggiamenti arrivò una delegazione della città di Brugge: novembre 1440. Il primo ad essere nominato tra gli ambasciatori della città fiamminga è il borgomastro Jan Losschaert. Filippo accettò la sollecitazione degli ambasciatori a calmare il suo risentimento nei riguardi della città fiamminga e si lasciò convincere, anche per intercessione di Charles d'Orléans, a recarsi a Brugge dove fu ricevuto in maniera splendida.⁸² Il 10 ottobre 1414 Janne Losschard fornisce alla città di Brugge una certa quantità di nitrato necessario per la difesa della città.⁸³ Il 20 marzo 1430 un Jan Losschaerde entrava in possesso di un feudo.⁸⁴ Per il 1430 conosco due documenti riguardanti Jan Losschaert, uno relativo ad un prestito di 1200 lire fatto alla città in un momento di bisogno⁸⁵ e l'altro riguardante l'acquisto di un vitalizio di 9 lire insieme a sua moglie Caterina Dureel «die men heet van den Damme».⁸⁶ La precisazione del nome della moglie evidenzia l'incertezza esistente nell'identificazione degli antenati di Paul nel ramo materno rispondenti al nome di Jan con i personaggi documentati archivistamente. Il nome Jan è talmente comune che può essere stato portato da più di un membro contemporaneamente della famiglia Losschaert così che resta dubbia l'identificazione di quel Jehan Losschaert documentato come borgomastro ('du corps') il 13 ottobre 1444 e il 31 dicembre 1445.⁸⁷ Il 24 maggio 1453 Jan Losschaert fa parte di una delegazione della città di Brugge inviata a Filippo il Buono; è membro dell'ambasceria anche Pieter Metteneye, un nome che reincontreremo presto.⁸⁸ Clara Losschaert aveva un fratello di nome Antoon, come il padre, e sposato a Catharina de Witte. Fu borgomastro del Comune nel 1488 e morì nel 1495.⁸⁹ Agricola non ricorda membri della famiglia Losschaert coetanei di Paul de Baenst e rispondenti al nome di Jan. Qualcuno ci fu certamente e in posizione di rilievo.⁹⁰ Il 21 novembre 1468 Jan Losschaert, scabino, viene inviato

⁸² Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 194.

⁸³ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, IV, 327.

⁸⁴ E. Vanden Bussche, *Inventaire des Archives de l'Etat à Bruges. Section première. Franc de Bruges. Ancien quatrième membre de Flandre* (Brugge, 1881), I, 134 n° 343.

⁸⁵ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 187.

⁸⁶ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 175-77.

⁸⁷ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 277, 297.

⁸⁸ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 368.

⁸⁹ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, V, 68.

⁹⁰ Un Jan Losschaert della generazione successiva agli omonimi nonno e prozio di Paul è ricordato il 15 febbraio 1464 senza indicazione di cariche: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 443.

dopo i fatti di Liegi a Bruxelles a porgere le congratulazioni a Carlo il Temerario insieme al borgomastro Jan Breydel,⁹¹ Zeghin de Baenst, zio di Paul e menzionato da Agricola (su di lui si ritorna più avanti), e Anthunis Louf.⁹² Jan Losschaert è borgomastro di Brugge nel 1477⁹³ e si reca agli Stati generali a Mechelen il 3 gennaio 1480 insieme a Lodewijk de Baenst, il fratello di Paul ricordato da Agricola.⁹⁴ Un Janne Losschaert è scabino nel 1504.⁹⁵ Abbiamo notizia di un Jan Losschaert figlio di Jan secondo marito di Marie Despars che aveva sposato il primo marito nel 1475 e morì nel 1521.⁹⁶ Potrebbe trattarsi del figlio del precedente: avremmo così di nuovo un Jan senior, vissuto nella seconda metà del Quattrocento, ed un Jan iunior vissuto a cavaliere tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento, ma non inseribili, per quel che mi riguarda, nell'albero genealogico dei Losschaert proposto sopra. Essi servono a documentare la fitta rete di personaggi di rilievo con cui erano imparentati i de Baenst e cui accenna Agricola.

Sul monumento commemorativo di Lodewijk de Baenst il vecchio e Clara Losschaert sono raffigurati cinque figli e cinque figlie. Agricola conosce due maschi, Paul e Lodewijk iunior, e tre femmine, Clara, Margareta, Anna. Clara si fece suora e come tale è identificabile sul monumento. Di entrambe le altre Agricola conosce i mariti: Margareta sposò Pieter Metteneye e Anna Jacob Boudins. La tomba di Pieter Metteneye (†1° marzo 1495) si trovava in Sint-Donaas⁹⁷ ed è andata distrutta, ma un disegno settecentesco ed una litografia ottocentesca ne hanno conservato la memoria.⁹⁸ Lo stemma della famiglia de Baenst,

⁹¹ P. Breydel, *Bruges et les Breydel* (Bruxelles, 1975), pp. 213-14; J. van Rompaey, *Het grafelijk baljuwsambt in Vlaanderen tijdens de boergondische periode* (Brussel, 1967), p. 613; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, 311 n° 315.

⁹² Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 27; W. P. Blockmans, *Handelingen van de leden en van de staten van Vlaanderen (1467-1477). Excerpten uit de rekeningen van de Vlaamse steden, kasselrijen en vorstelijke ambtenaren* (Bruxelles - Brussel, 1971), pp. 51-52.

⁹³ Vanden Bussche, *Inventaire*, I, 53-54.

⁹⁴ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 197.

⁹⁵ Blockmans, *Handelingen van de leden en van de staten van Vlaanderen. Regeringen van Maria van Bourgondië en Filips de Schone 5 januari 1477-26 september 1506. Excerpten uit de rekeningen van de Vlaamse steden en kasselrijen en van de vorstelijke ambtenaren. Ie deel. Na de vrede van Kadzand (1492)* (Bruxelles - Brussel, 1982), pp. 980-81.

⁹⁶ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, II, 463.

⁹⁷ Informa su questa chiesa, purtroppo scomparsa, tra altro il volumetto citato a nota 62.

⁹⁸ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, III, 405-406. Il cronista Rombout de Doppere indica come data di morte il 28 febbraio: *Fragments inédits*, p. 51. La data 1° marzo 1494 'ab annunciatione' (=1495 in stile volgare) è leggibile anche sul disegno riprodotto da Vermeersch oltre che in Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale avec des données historiques et généalogiques* (Brugge, 1861), I, 55.

fascia d'argento con tre merli nel campo superiore, permette l'indubbia identificazione di Margareta nella quarta figura a destra. Nell'iscrizione la data di morte della sorella di Paul però manca. La ricorda l'obituario di Sint-Donaas al 26 febbraio, ma senza anno: «Domicelle Margarete de Baenst uxoris Petri Mattinee, suppretoris Brugensis, militis». Al 19 aprile l'obituario registra la commemorazione di Pieter Metteneye senior.⁹⁹ Pieter Metteneye o Petrus Mettengus iunior, come ovviamente lo chiama Agricola, non è affatto uno sconosciuto. R. Mullie scrive¹⁰⁰ che fu capitano del castello di Oudenaarde, si direbbe attingendo ad Agricola: «praefectus oppidi cui Aldernardo nomen est». E' documentato in questa funzione in una divertente narrazione della consegna del castello a Massimiliano I nel 1484.¹⁰¹ La notizia si trova anche nell'importante e dettagliato articolo che a Pieter Metteneye dedica J. Gailliard¹⁰² dove la sua partecipazione alla vita cittadina in Brugge, alle consuetudini cavalleresche e l'impegno al servizio dei duchi di Borgogna e di Massimiliano I vengono messi nel debito risalto. Agricola lo chiama 'vir primarius' e non si tratta di retorica, e aggiunge: «in praecipuis cubiculi principis sui ministris habitus», indicando così una carica di corte traducibile con cameriere, ma indicata con precisione da Gailliard: «fut pannetier du duc de Bourgogne, Charle-le-Téméraire et puis du roi des Romains Maximilian d'Autriche». Le cariche di «capitein van de castele van Audenaerde», senza data, e di panettiere, «papnetier ons geduchs heeren den hertoghe van Bourgoigne, grave van Vlaenderen ende de room koninks Maximiliaen» sono però menzionate nell'iscrizione della tomba, dove è anche definito scudiero: 'schildknape'.¹⁰³ Essendo la famiglia Metteneye grande ed importante non meraviglia di trovarla documentata in fonti di vario genere, artistico,¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ L.Gilliodts-Van Severen, *L'obituaire de Saint Donatien de Bruges* (Bruxelles, 1889), pp. (38) e (54). Estratto dal *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire de Belgique*, 4e série, tome XVI.

¹⁰⁰ *Monuments de Bruges. 3e partie*, p. 63.

¹⁰¹ 'Overgave van de Stad en het Kasteel van Audenaerde aen Maximiliaen', *Aude-naerdse Mengelingen*, I (1845), 467-71.

¹⁰² *Bruges et le Franc*, IV, 169.

¹⁰³ Rapide notizie su Pieter, ma significative perché inserite nelle vicende della famiglia e quindi utili a commentare il contesto di importanti relazioni di parentela che Agricola attribuisce a Paul de Baenst, dà: Kerkhoffs-De Heij, *De Grote Raad*, p. 98. Fino ad ora non abbiamo incontrato nelle famiglie de Baenst e Losschaert ecclesiastici di rilievo. Il figlio maggiore di Pieter Metteneye fu protonotario apostolico, canonico nobile di Sint-Donaas, membro del Consiglio segreto.

¹⁰⁴ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, III, 795 s. v.

genealogico,¹⁰⁵ documentario,¹⁰⁶ cronachistico e con attacchi violenti,¹⁰⁷ di varia erudizione, dal Trecento fino avanti nel Cinquecento.¹⁰⁸ Per quel che riguarda in particolare Pieter Metteneye J. F. Foppens lo ricorda come consigliere di stato in Fiandra ai tempi di Filippo il Buono.¹⁰⁹ Il capitanato ad Oudenaarde è menzionato anche da W. P. Blockmans¹¹⁰ verso il 1483 e quindi per un periodo di nuovo successivo alla 'laudatio' di Agricola. Forse è necessario fare una riflessione. Agricola, come ha mostrato K. Morneweg,¹¹¹ ha rifatto l'orazione pronunciata ad inizio settembre 1474 per l'insediamento di Johannes von Dalberg a rettore dell'Università giurista pavese secondo una promessa fatta a Dalberg in una lettera da Ferrara del 23 dicembre 1476,¹¹² non solo in termini stilistici, ma di contenuto con la menzione di avvenimenti successivi a quando l'orazione fu pronunciata. Ha avuto una sorte simile l'orazione per Paul de Baenst? Agricola è morto il 27 ottobre 1485 secondo la biografia di Johannes von Plienigen¹¹³ e quindi il rifacimento dell'orazione cadrebbe proprio verso la fine della sua vita, quando Paul de Baenst era presidente del Consiglio di Fiandra. Agricola era molto attento ai rapporti di amicizia, ma le sue lettere non dicono nulla sul mantenimento delle ottime relazioni intrecciate a Lovanio e Pavia con Paul de Baenst. Il sesto volume dell'*Inventaire* già tante volte citato di Gilliodts - Van

¹⁰⁵ Si vedano gli indici dei volumi su *Bruges et le Franc* di J. Gailliard.

¹⁰⁶ W. Prevenier, *Handelingen van de leden en van de staten van Vlaanderen (1384-1405). Excerpten uit de rekeningen der steden, kasselrijen en vorstelijke ambtenaren* (Bruxelles-Brussel, 1959), s.v.; Blockmans, *Handelingen van de leden en van de staten van Vlaanderen (1467-1477). Excerpten...*, s. v.; Id., *Handelingen van de leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen. Regeringen van Maria van Bourgondië en Filips de Schone*, I, s. v.

¹⁰⁷ Rombout de Doppere, *Fragments inédits*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁸ J. Weale, 'Généalogie des familles brugeoises. Les Despars', *La Flandre*, 2 (1868-69), 371-72, 398; A. Duclos, 'Jan Breydel zoon van Jan, kleinzoon van Michiel', *Rond den Heerd*, 22 (1887), 103; C. van Renynghe de Voxurie, 'L'épithaphier de Bruges', *Tablettes des Flandres*, 5 (1953), 335; A. De Schietere de Lophem, 'Iconographie brugeoise, II, L'Hôpital de la Potterie', *Tablettes des Flandres*, 7 (1957), 279; R. H., 'De doodhoek van 't Hospitaal. Een wijnstichting voor de arme stervende, Brugge 1390', *Biekorf*, 70 (1959), 369; *Jeruzalem Brugge* (Brugge, 1970), p. 22; N. Geirnaert - A. Vandewalle, *Adornes in Jeruzalem* (Brugge, 1983), pp. 37, 114.

¹⁰⁹ *Histoire du Conseil de Flandre*: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 6122, f. 6r.

¹¹⁰ *Handelingen... Regeringen van Maria...*, 1, 283-84.

¹¹¹ Johann von Dalberg, *ein deutscher Humanist und Bischof (geb. 1455, Bischof von Worms 1482, † 1503)* (Heidelberg, 1887), p. 36.

¹¹² E. Leibenguth - R. Seidel, 'Die Korrespondenz Rudolf Agricolas mit den süd-deutschen Humanisten. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar', in *Rudolf Agricola 1444-1485*, pp. 209-210.

¹¹³ Straube, 'Die Agricola-Biographie des Johannes von Plienigen', p. 26.

Severen contiene varie segnalazioni relative a Pieter Metteneye: borgomastro (novembre 1474),¹¹⁴ sculteto (1488)¹¹⁵ ecc. Tramite gli indici del quinto volume si rintracciano due menzioni:¹¹⁶ nella seconda svolge una funzione militare, «capetein ende leedsman van de vors. pickenaers», ma non ad Oudenaarde. Per ragioni cronologiche è escluso che le tre menzioni rintracciabili tramite gli indici del quarto volume¹¹⁷ abbiano a che fare col cognato di Paul de Baenst.

La terza sorella di Paul de Baenst è moglie, afferma Agricola, del dottore in utroque Jacob Boudins, persona di vasto sapere, «inter paucos eruditus». Riferimenti a Jacob Boudins nelle fonti brugensi non mancano. E' probabile che si debba fare una selezione per distinguere tra gli omonimi. Il marito di Anna de Baenst non è certamente uno dei nobili fiamminghi che hanno accompagnato Filippo il Buono nella spedizione per vendicare l'assassinio di Giovanni senza paura.¹¹⁸ Da Agricola apprendiamo che era «iuris utriusque doctor» e giuridicamente molto preparato. Nel 1446 «Jacobus Boudins Tornacensis diocesis» si immatricola a Lovanio:¹¹⁹ l'identificazione col cognato di Paul de Baenst mi sembra certa. Da un'opera di A. De Vlaminck si apprende che era signore di Schoonewalle, che morì il 23 dicembre 1495, che sua moglie Anna morì il primo gennaio 1485 e che la loro figlia Catherina sposò Pieter van Belle signore di Eecke.¹²⁰ Gailliard conosce l'iscrizione della tomba con data di morte di Catherina: 1488.¹²¹ Ragioni di spazio mi costringono a non insistere sulla discendenza di Anna de Baenst per dedicare invece ancora qualche riga a Jacob Boudins. Viene nominato nel contesto delle esequie di Filippo il Buono: 1467;¹²² è nella delegazione inviata a Sluis per accogliere Margherita di York destinata sposa a Carlo il Temerario,¹²³ viene nominato in questioni riguardanti Brugge e/o il duca nel 1469,¹²⁴

¹¹⁴ P. 79 n° 1130.

¹¹⁵ P. 296 n° 1229.

¹¹⁶ P. 368 e 555.

¹¹⁷ Pp. 371, 478, 481.

¹¹⁸ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, I, 205.

¹¹⁹ E. Reusens, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain, I, 1426 (origine) — 30 août 1453* (Bruxelles, 1903), p. 157 n. 3.

¹²⁰ *Filiation de familles de la Flandre dressée sur pièces authentiques ou d'après des manuscrits anciens* (Gand, 1875), II, 261.

¹²¹ *Bruges et le Franc...Unique volume supplément* (Brugge, 1864), p. 208.

¹²² Prevenier, *Handelingen van de leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen (1467-1477)*, p. 4.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58, 69, 72.

nel 1470 e 1471,¹²⁵ nel 1474 (borgomastro),¹²⁶ nel 1475 (borgomastro),¹²⁷ nel 1476 (deputato a Gent)¹²⁸ e per una questione riguardante Sluis.¹²⁹ E' ricordato ancora nel 1486,¹³⁰ nel 1487, come la volta precedente con Guy de Baenst e in un affare riferentesi a Massimiliano I.¹³¹ Nel medesimo anno è citato a proposito di una riunione tenuta a Brugge sul problema della difesa delle frontiere,¹³² nell'anno seguente in una riunione relativa a lettere inviate dalla città di Gent,¹³³ nel 1490 come membro di una deputazione inviata a Ieper,¹³⁴ nel 1493 come membro di una commissione che deve trattare una grossa somma di denaro in rapporto all'esecuzione del testamento di Maria di Borgogna,¹³⁵ di una commissione di cui non si indicano le funzioni¹³⁶ e di un'altra commissione che doveva esaminare certe lettere inviate da Janne de Berch e decidere sulla risposta da dare al rapporto degli inviati presso gli Stati generali.¹³⁷ Nel 1494 è di nuovo membro di una commissione deputata ad ascoltare il rapporto del Presidente del Consiglio di Fiandra.¹³⁸

Di Lodewijk de Baenst iunior Agricola può dire poco perché «tener adhuc». R. Mullie, che pubblica l'iscrizione funebre¹³⁹ riprodotta da Vermeersch¹⁴⁰ e posta sotto il monumento nella Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk, lo dice membro della confraternita del preziosissimo sangue, e cavaliere dell'ordine di Gerusalemme e di Santa Caterina; ricorda inoltre che fu consigliere della città di Brugge nel 1479, 'hoofdman' nel 1480 e nel 1482, 'forestier' della società nobile e cavalleresca dell'orso bianco nel 1480; aggiunge anche che fu armato cavaliere da Massimiliano I nella battaglia di Blangy (Guinegate) e che morì il 5 giugno 1496, come del

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 125, 134.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 244 e 245, 253.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

¹³⁰ Blockmans, *Handelingen van de leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen. Regeringen van Maria van Bourgondië en Filips de Schone*, I, 387.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 400, 402-403.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 428.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

¹³⁵ Blockmans, *Handelingen van de leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen. Regeringen van Maria van Bourgondië en Filips de Schone*, II, 661.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 666.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 667-68.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 673-74.

¹³⁹ *Monuments de Bruges. 4e partie*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁴⁰ *Grafmonumenten*, II, p. 354 Pl.168, p. 356 Pl. 169.

resto si legge nell'iscrizione funebre. Agricola aggiunge un dettaglio importante, il favore di Filippo il Buono di cui era 'quaestor' nonostante proprio l'età giovanile. Sull'età è probabile che Agricola calchi la mano perché Lodewijk ha certamente già passato i vent'anni essendo suo padre morto nel 1454, come si è visto. 'Quaestor' dovrebbe indicare una carica finanziaria. Le notizie di R. Mullie sono però ampliabili. Si legge in quest'opera che Lodewijk iunior sposò Margherita Boulanger: infatti nel monumento funebre Margherita è rappresentata in ginocchio di fianco alla Vergine e all'ombra di Santa Margherita che uccide il drago. L'iscrizione funebre riguarda solo Lodewijk perché Margherita sposò in seconde nozze Jan van Praet o van Vlaanderen per morire molto tardi, il 24 febbraio 1526.¹⁴¹ Il loro sepolcro è conservato.¹⁴² Lodewijk partecipò al torneo che ebbe luogo a Brugge il 28. 4. 1479 e al quale partecipò anche l'arciduca Massimiliano. Maria di Borgogna distribuì i premi: l'arciduca ebbe il diamante, Lodewijk la lancia. Lodewijk si trovava in buona compagnia: Gauthier Despars, 'forestier' della società nobile e cavalleresca dell'orso bianco, Jan van Nieuwenhove, Jan van Doorne, Jacques de Vos, Mathieu de Brouckere, Jacques de Heere, Henri de Werdenburch ecc.¹⁴³ Che sia stato armato cavaliere da Massimiliano I pare accertato: l'evento avvenne dopo la battaglia di Guinegate, 7 agosto 1479.¹⁴⁴ Nel 1480 Lodewijk è consigliere e cavaliere. Per le vicende della guerra contro la Francia gli Stati generali sono convocati a Mechelen e prorogati ad Anversa. Il 3 gennaio 1480 partono da Brugge per Mechelen il cavaliere Jan van Nieuwenhove, il borgomastro Jan de Boodt e altri tra cui Jan Losschaert e Lodewijk de Baenst, come si è già ricordato. Lodewijk resta assente 14 giorni.¹⁴⁵ L'investitura a cavaliere dopo la

¹⁴¹ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, I, p. 259.

¹⁴² Selschotter, 'Gebeeldhouwde Grafsteen', 184.

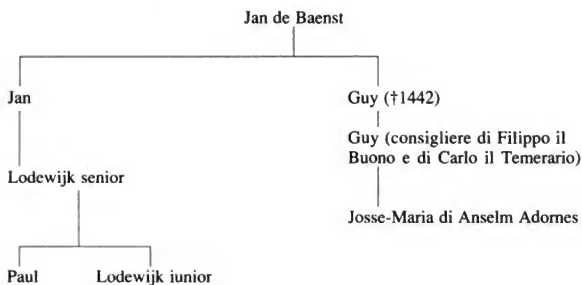
¹⁴³ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, IV, 90.

¹⁴⁴ J. S. F. J. L. De Herckenrode, *Nobiliaire des Pays Bas et du Comté de Bourgogne par M. De Vegiano Seigneur D'Hovel et neuf de ses suppléments* (Gand, 1865), I, 81. Per la battaglia di Guinegate ad es.: H. Klaje, *Die Schlacht bei Guinegate vom 7. August 1479* (Greifswald, Diss., 1890); A. Bachmann, *Deutsche Reichsgeschichte im Zeitalter Friedrichs III. und Max I. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der österreichischen Staatengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1894), II, 679-80; H. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit, Bd.I. Jugend, burgundisches Erbe und römisches Königtum bis zur Alleinherrschaft 1459-1493* (Wien, 1971), pp. 144-49.

¹⁴⁵ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 196-99; Blockmans, *Handelingen van de leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen. Regeringen van Maria van Bourgondië en Filips de Schone*, I, 125-27.

giornata di Guinegate è confermata dalla denominazione di cavaliere conferitagli in occasione del suo invio il 28 novembre del 1479 alla riunione degli Stati generali a Gent per trattare il problema della difesa del paese.¹⁴⁶

Il tre marzo 1483 troviamo membri importanti della famiglia de Baenst riuniti per un avvenimento solenne, la cerimonia funebre per Anselm Adornes nella Jeruzalemkapel. Con loro è Lodewijk de Baenst in quel momento 'hoofdman' del sestiere di Sint-Jacobs; è inoltre presente ed è una cosa importante per il nostro assunto, Paul de Baenst, presidente del Consiglio di Fiandra, Jan III de Baenst, signore di Oostkerke, e un secondo Jan de Baenst, signore di Lembeke.¹⁴⁷ Come si vedrà, Agricola elogia un Jan de Baenst zio di Paul. Che ci fosse un qualche legame di parentela tra gli Adornes e i de Baenst, quelli interessanti per il commento all'orazione di Agricola, è nella logica dei rapporti tra le famiglie che a Brugge contavano. Dall'opera ripetutamente citata di J. Gailliard¹⁴⁸ ricavo il seguente albero genealogico per indicare i rapporti tra Paul e suo fratello Lodewijk e Anselm Adornes:



Jan, padre di Lodewijk e, come si vedrà, balivo di Brugge, è uno degli esponenti prominenti della vita politica di questa città chiamati a far da padrini ai figli di Anselm Adornes.¹⁴⁹ Lodewijk morì il 5 giugno

¹⁴⁶ Blockmans, *Handelingen van de leden en van de staten van Vlaanderen. Regeringen van Maria van Bourgondië en Filips de Schone*, I, 120-21.

¹⁴⁷ Geirnaert-Vandewalle, *Adornes en Jeruzalem*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁴⁸ *Bruges et le Franc*, I, 25-38.

1496.¹⁵⁰ Quando nel 1490 Brugge insorse alleandosi con i cittadini di Gent e con Filippo di Kleve, Lodewijk lasciò la città: nella lunga lista di cittadini che con lui preferirono l'esilio compaiono due nomi di famiglie ricordate da Agricola: Pieter Metteneye e Antoon Losschaert.¹⁵¹

L'albero genealogico disegnato sopra dà ragione ad Agricola quando indica come 'proavus' di Paul un Johannes e come 'avus' pure un Johannes. Agricola però aggiunge ancora un Johannes come zio paterno ed un altro zio paterno di nome Sigerus. Data la rarità del nome quest'ultimo è il più facile da identificare. Agricola si esprime in termini umanistici e classicheggianti e loda di Sigerus il senno dimostrato in patria, l'efficacia del suo impegno all'estero e soprattutto presso il duca di Borgogna. Secondo Gailliard¹⁵² Jan, l' 'avus' di Paul, e Anna Slijps ebbero quattro figli: Jean, Louis, Josse, Soyer. Louis è Lodewijk senior, padre di Paul, e Soyer (†1471) è certamente Sigerus o Zeghin, sposo di Catherina Honin e sepolto con essa a Brugge nella Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk.¹⁵³ Gailliard afferma che fu scabino, 'hoofdman', borgomastro del comune, borgomastro degli scabini, tesoriere, tutore dell'Ospedale 'de la Potterie'. Borgomastro degli scabini era forse anche quando morì perché con questa carica viene ricordato nell'iscrizione funebre.¹⁵⁴ Il suo matrimonio con Catherina Honin è da datare alla fine del 1439 o poco dopo.¹⁵⁵ Poiché Agricola afferma che tutti sanno come Paul de Baenst sia stato legato a vincoli di parentela o affinità con tanti 'viri spectatissimi', 'equites strenuissimi', 'barones fortissimi', e poiché vanta gli esempi di pudicizia, virtù e nobiltà delle donne della famiglia, va citato che Zeghin de Baenst ebbe una figlia di nome Adriana che andò sposa a Karel van Halewyn, cavaliere, consigliere di Brugge nel 1468, prima dunque che Agricola tenesse l'orazione, ma salito poi fino al rango di consigliere e ciambellano dell'arciduca Massimiliano I.¹⁵⁶ Morì il 27 novembre 1496 in seguito a ferite riportate in una campagna militare e fu sepolto nella chiesa degli Eremitani a Brugge.¹⁵⁷ Zeghin aveva anche

¹⁴⁹ Geirnaert-Vandewalle, *Adornes en Jeruzalem*, p. 23.

¹⁵⁰ Mullie, *Monuments de Bruges*. 4^e partie, pp. 36-37.

¹⁵¹ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc...*, IV, 92.

¹⁵² *Bruges et le Franc*, I, 26.

¹⁵³ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, I, 26; Mullie, *Monuments de Bruges*. 1^e partie. *Eglises et chapelles* (Woluwe-Saint-Lambert, 1960), pp. 86 e 87.

¹⁵⁴ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 189 n. 1.

¹⁵⁵ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 188-89.

¹⁵⁶ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, I, 231.

¹⁵⁷ Mullie, *Grafkapellen en Monumenten*, pp. 36 e 38; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, III, 411 n°36.

un figlio di nome Jan morto il 23 ottobre 1518.¹⁵⁸ Era più o meno coetaneo di Paul de Baenst: il 5 maggio 1467 Zeghin acquista con una lunga lista di altre persone un vitalizio dalla città di Nieuwpoort; tra gli acquirenti c'è anche Jan fratello di Zeghin.¹⁵⁹ Lo spoglio della documentazione archivistica è molto produttivo a proposito di Zeghin: pagamento per una missione a Bruxelles il 15 febbraio 1468, pagamento per una missione a Gent per trattare il problema di una sovvenzione chiesta dal duca, e a Bruxelles per portare la risposta al duca nel marzo dello stesso anno; nel mese di novembre con Jan Losschaert ed il borgomastro Jan Breidel è deputato a Bruxelles presso il duca, come si è ricordato. In missione a Gent con Jan Breidel borgomastro lo troviamo anche nel 1469: tra altre cose bisognava trattare sul miglioramento dei trasporti, sul corso della moneta e sul problema dello Zwin a Sluis. In questa località Zeghin è in missione ancora nel 1471, e quindi non molto prima di morire.¹⁶⁰ Copiosi rimandi a Zeghin raccoglie l'indice dei nomi dell'*Inventaire* di Gilliodts-Van Severen.¹⁶¹ Tra le altre notizie elencabili su Zeghin mi limito a quella relativa alla sua nomina a 'receveur'. Avendo ottenuto di avere non più quattro, ma sei 'receveurs' gli 'hoofd-mannen' presentano al duca una lista di otto persone: dicembre 1463. Il 12 gennaio 1464 vennero nominati Zeghin de Baenst, Jacob Breidel, Anselm Adornes, Jan de Plaet. Era stato presentato, ma non venne nominato Antoon Losschaert iunior.¹⁶²

E' inevitabile a questo punto affrontare la separazione dei vari Jan de Baenst.¹⁶³ Il nome Jan compare in tre generazioni successive, almeno per quel che ci riguarda. Identifichiamo anzitutto l' 'avus' di Paul, di cui Agricola afferma: «praeturam multos annos eximia integritate, maxima iusticia Brugibus gessit». Si tratta certamente del balivo sposo di Anna Slijps che fu sepolto in Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk nella cappella di Santa Margherita detta de Baenst o Bladelin o Colar de

¹⁵⁸ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, III, 500-504.

¹⁵⁹ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 469-70.

¹⁶⁰ Blockmans, *Handelingen van de leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen (1467-1477). Excerpten...*, pp. 19-20, 21-22, 51-52, 58-59, 65-66, 112-13.

¹⁶¹ E. Gailliard, *Table des noms de familles. Table des noms de lieux et glossaire flamand par E. Gailliard*, 2 (Brugge, 1882), p. 8.

¹⁶² Nelis, *Chambre des comptes de Lille*, pp. 212 n° 959 e 960.

¹⁶³ Non ho elementi per identificare il Johannes de Baenst elencato con la moglie il 29 ottobre nell'obituario di Sint-Donaas: Gilliodts-Van Severen, 'L'obituaire', p. (65). Direi che quel Jan de Baenst citato come tutore dei figli di Joos de Witte il 17 maggio 1463 dovrebbe essere il balivo: Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, V, 68; Vanden Bussche, *Inventaire des Archives de l'Etat à Bruges*, I, 150-51.

Fevre.¹⁶⁴ Secondo Agricola fu un magistrato esemplare che non ha guardato in faccia ai potenti («nullius potentia severitas infracta fuit») e non si è mostrato insensibile ai pericoli delle persone che si rivolgevano a lui: «nullius periculis humanitas clausa». Sono espressioni che traducono in termini umanistici una realtà di cui Agricola ha avuto notizia da Paul de Baenst. Jan de Baenst, figlio di Jan e padre di Jan, Lodewijk, Josse e Zeghin è stato uno dei balivi di Brugge con più lungo servizio perché, nominato nel 1439,¹⁶⁵ tenne la carica fino al 1460: il suo successore Pol des Champs venne nominato il 24 maggio 1460.¹⁶⁶ La figura del balivo Jan serve egregiamente per illustrare i rapporti di fedeltà ai duchi di Borgogna della famiglia de Baenst e il favore da essa goduto. L'aver avuto per tanto tempo la carica di balivo dimostra che Jan godeva della piena fiducia di Filippo il Buono che infatti quando Jan lasciò la carica per l'età avanzata lo nominò membro del Gran Consiglio con parole di stima: «amé et feal aussî conseiller Jehan de Baenst».¹⁶⁷ «De benoeming tot raadsheer van de Grote Raad was voor hem dan de kroon op het werk»¹⁶⁸ perché aveva alle spalle quarant'anni di servizio ducale svolto ad esempio a Sluis¹⁶⁹, Veurne¹⁷⁰ e Mechelen, anche se l'età avanzata gli impedì probabilmente di partecipare attivamente ai lavori del Gran Consiglio.

Poiché Agricola insiste sulle qualificazioni dei parenti di Paul de Baenst da un lato e dall'altro sul tradizionale ben volere dimostrato loro dai duchi, ricordo a solo titolo di documentazione la carriera di Antoon, fratello del balivo Jan, che fu balivo dei 'Vier ambachten' (1424-1431), di Veurne (1431-1433), di Ieper (1433-34) e di nuovo dei 'Vier ambachten' (1434-38).¹⁷¹ I de Baenst erano una tipica famiglia interessata

¹⁶⁴ Mullie, *Grafkapellen en monumenten*, p. 22.

¹⁶⁵ Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 188. E' ricordato come balivo in documenti del 6 novembre 1441, del 31 gennaio 1450, del 15 aprile 1456: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 257, 343, 396-97.

¹⁶⁶ Van Rompaey, *Het grafelijk baljuwsambt*, p. 217. Il 2 aprile 1460 è ancora nominato balivo in una sentenza pronunciata contro di lui e che andò in esecuzione il 19 dicembre successivo: Nelis, *Chambre des comptes de Lille*, p. 186 n° 724.

¹⁶⁷ Van Rompaey, *Het grafelijk baljuwsambt*, p. 218 n.1.

¹⁶⁸ Van Rompaey, *Het grafelijk baljuwsambt*, p. 218.

¹⁶⁹ Archives départementales du Nord. Répertoire numérique rédigé par M.Bruchet. *Chambre des comptes de Lille* (Lille, 1921), p. 547 (Comptes des fortifications de Flandre, B 5601-5603. L'Ecluse. Comptes par Jean Le Baenst, receveur de l'Ecluse, 1419-1428). 3.7.1417, scabino del Vrije (Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, IV, 346). Avrebbe dovuto esserci il suo sigillo, ma è scomparso, in un atto del 13 dicembre 1421: *Ibid.*, pp. 373-74.

¹⁷⁰ Vanden Bussche, *Inventaire*, V, p. 134 n° 1004.

¹⁷¹ Van Rompaey, *Het grafelijk baljuwsambt*, pp. 238-39.

soprattutto a cariche amministrative perché Anna, moglie del balivo, era figlia di Jan Slijp di cui si conosce la lunga carriera tra Ieper, Sluis e Brugge tra Trecento e Quattrocento.¹⁷²

Jan figlio del balivo ci permette di toccare probabilmente i rapporti della famiglia de Baenst col mondo della cultura, una questione importante perché Agricola sottolinea ampiamente che Paul era persona colta e dedita a studi non solo di giurisprudenza. Le tombe del balivo Jan e di suo figlio Jan: «cui cognomento de Sancto Georgio est, vir equestris ordinis», come si esprime Agricola, sono tenute distinte da R. Mullie¹⁷³ e V. Vermeersch descrive ampiamente quella del figlio e di sua moglie Margareta Fevers (†7 aprile 1497)¹⁷⁴ indicando come data di morte di Jan il 18 marzo 1486. L'epigrafe dice chiaramente che, come la tradizione di famiglia voleva, Jan era un filoborgognone osservante: «raed en camerlync ons geduchts heeren Philippe en Caerle». ¹⁷⁵ Johannes de Sancto Georgio per Agricola è in effetti una persona vivente («cui...cognomentum est») che nel passato ha seguito Carlo il Temerario nelle campagne militari con una squadra di ottanta cavalieri. Il balivo deve essere invece morto da tempo perché, come si è visto, era già in età avanzata quando cessò dall'ufficio nel 1460. Tener distinto il balivo, nonno di Paul, da Jan, zio di Paul, è importante perché ne fa una persona sola Antoon Viaene.¹⁷⁶ I meriti culturali di Jan, zio di Paul, sono rilevanti: nel 1466 si è fatto portavoce con successo presso la città di Brugge della richiesta di Carlo il Temerario perché venisse assegnata una pensione annua al poeta Anthonis de Roovere;¹⁷⁷ esiste l'ipotesi che sia il committente del polittico con la leggenda di Sant'Orsola, la Chiesa e la Sinagoga conservato nel Groeningemuseum di Brugge;¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² Van Rompaey, *Het grafelijk baljuwsambt*, pp. 236-37.

¹⁷³ *Monuments de Bruges. Ie partie*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁴ *Grafmonumenten*, II, 324-28. Ricordano la finestra commemorativa (ca.1520) del loro figlio Jan e di sua moglie Gertrude de Barlette: Mullie, *Monuments de Bruges. Ie partie*, p. 87; Geirnaert-Vandewalle, *Adornes en Jeruzalem*, p. 112.

¹⁷⁵ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, I, 27.

¹⁷⁶ 'Anthonis de Roovere, stadsdichter van Brugge 1466-1482', in *Ad Harenas. Gedenkboek van de Jubelviering Sint-Lodewijkcollege Brugge* (Brugge, 1960), pp. 343-66, in particolare p. 356.

¹⁷⁷ Viaene, 'Anthonis de Roovere', 347-48.

¹⁷⁸ Geirnaert, 'Kunst- en geestesleven te Brugge in de schaduw van de Bourgondische hertogen ca.1450-1482', *Vlaanderen*, 31 (1982), 135. La committenza è affermata con una riproduzione di Jan de Baenst in: E. van den Berghe - J. van den Heuvel - G. Verhelst, *De Zwartzusters van Brugge, Diksmuide, Oostende, Veurne en Brazilië* (Brugge, 1986), p. 51.

alla sua biblioteca appartenne il manoscritto 5092 della Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal di Parigi contenente *La pénitence d'Adam* e l'*Histoire de la vraie croix* nella traduzione di Colard Mansion.¹⁷⁹ Il codice è descritto in un importante catalogo di mostra,¹⁸⁰ ma con quello che però è a mio avviso, ma potrei sbagliarmi, un errore, vale a dire la già segnalata confusione del balivo e 'avus' di Paul con l'uomo di cultura (†1486) e zio di Paul. La traduzione di Colard Mansion è nata su sollecitazione di Lodewijk van Gruuthuse¹⁸¹ dopo il 13 ottobre 1472, il codice di Jan de Baenst è parente del manoscritto di Gruuthuse¹⁸² e la miniatura ad inizio del testo pare opera dell'artista che ha illustrato la pagina iniziale delle *Genealogie deorum gentilium* di Boccaccio appartenute a Jan Crabbe e all'abbazia di Ter Duinen.¹⁸³ Alle spalle di Jan de Baenst affiora così il mondo della cultura e dell'arte della Brugge del secondo Quattrocento. Jan de Baenst ha un posto negli annali della letteratura neerlandese per aver fatto tradurre in questa lingua la *Cité des dames* di Christine de Pisan: Londra, British Library, Add. 20.098 del 1470.¹⁸⁴ Forse alla biblioteca di Jan è appartenuto un terzo manoscritto pure molto importante per la vita culturale brugense: Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester, ms. 311. Il catalogo *Vlaamse kunst op perkament* dà un'ampia descrizione del codice segnalando che è stato scritto per Jan Crabbe e aggiungendo che ancora nel corso del Quattrocento entrò in possesso di un membro della famiglia de Baenst, «misschien de bibliotheek Paul III?», di cui è stato miniato lo stemma a f.9v su quello dell'abate Crabbe: n° 87. Nel lungo elenco di membri della famiglia de Baenst dato da J. Gailliard nel primo volume di *Bruges et le Franc*¹⁸⁵ c'è un solo Paul, il rettore pavese e presidente di Fiandra. Personalmente, per le lodi

¹⁷⁹ Viaene, 'Anthonis de Roovere', 359.

¹⁸⁰ *Vlaamse kunst op perkament. Handschriften en miniaturen te Brugge van de 12de tot de 16de eeuw* (Brugge, 1981), pp. 274-77 n° 117.

¹⁸¹ Viaene, 'Anthonis de Roovere', 359; *Vlaamse kunst*, pp. 275-76.

¹⁸² Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale, fr.1837. Elencato, ma non descritto in Martens e altri, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse*, pp. 178-81.

¹⁸³ *Vlaamse kunst*, pp. 192-94; *Aanwijzende Inventaris*, p. 333. Per la storia e la biblioteca di Ter Duinen: *De Duinenabdij (1627-1796) en het Grootseminarie (1833-1983) te Brugge. Bewoners / Gebouwen / Kunstpatrimonium*. Onder redactie van A. Denaux en E. vanden Berghe (Tielt, 1984); alle pp. 137-88 un contributo alla storia della miniatura: M. Smeyers en B. Cardon, 'Vier eeuwen Vlaamse miniatuurkunst in handschriften uit het Grootseminarie te Brugge'. Inoltre: M.-T. Isaac, *Les livres manuscrits de l'abbaye des dunes d'après le catalogue du XVII^e siècle* (Aubel, 1984).

¹⁸⁴ Viaene, 'Anthonis de Roovere', 358; *Vlaamse kunst*, p. 276; Geirnaert, 'Kunst- en geestesleven', 135.

¹⁸⁵ Pp. 22-40.

che Agricola gli fa anche in campo culturale sarei ben lieto di trovarmi davanti ad un codice della sua biblioteca, soprattutto di un codice umanisticamente importante per il contenuto (Virgilio coi commenti di Servio e Donato ed il tredicesimo libro dell'*Eneide* di Maffeo Vegio) e per la struttura codicologica: l'ornamentazione e il committente (Jan Crabbe) sono da situarsi a Brugge, ma con estrema probabilità anche la copiatura in scrittura umanistica italiana è avvenuta a Brugge e precisamente nel 1472 e nel 1473 quando negli Stati di Borgogna era ambasciatore Bernardo Bembo,¹⁸⁶ in un 'atelier' dove copisti italiani diffondevano la letteratura umanistica in scrittura umanistica, per usare le parole del catalogo. Al Virgilio di Holkham Hall collaborò Giorgio Ermonimo.¹⁸⁷ In questo quadro di ricezione dell'Umanesimo l'opzione di Paul de Baenst e di altre importanti personalità delle sue terre per Pavia ha certamente una motivazione scientifica come scelta di un importante centro di studi giuridici, ma anche una più ampia valenza culturale come ricerca dell'esperienza in loco della civiltà dell'Umanesimo con gli effetti lenti, ma sicuri della ricezione dell'Umanesimo come civiltà.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ N. Gianetto, *Bernardo Bembo, umanista e politico veneziano* (Firenze, 1985), pp. 121-31.

¹⁸⁷ Indicazioni in *Vlaamse kunst*, pp. 184-86.; *Duke Humphrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century. Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 59-61.

¹⁸⁸ Per la presenza di bibliofilia umanistica in un importante giurista: D. van den Auweele, G. Tournoy en J. Monballyu, 'De bibliotheek van Mr Filips Wielant (1483)', *Lias*, 8 (1981), 145-87. Un panorama della civiltà letteraria latina nei Paesi Bassi durante la giovinezza di Paul de Baenst in G. Tournoy, 'De Latijnse literatuur in de Nederlanden ten tijde van Karel de Stoute', in *Karel de Stoute. Tentoonstelling georganiseerd naar aanleiding van de vijfhonderdste verjaardag van zijn dood* (Brussel, 1977), pp. 34-37 e 'Het Humanisme in Vlaanderen 15de - 17de eeuw', in *Stad in Vlaanderen. Cultuur en Maatschappij. 1477-1787* (Brussel, 1991), pp. 195-207. La storia della ricezione dell'Umanesimo nei Paesi Bassi è stata scritta da J. Ilsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism in the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*. Ed. H. A. Oberman e Th. Brady Jr., (Leiden, 1975), pp. 193-301. Soprattutto per esercizio retorico cito quattro titoli sulla ricezione giuridica: R. C. van Caenegem, 'Ouvrages de droit romain dans les catalogues des anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis. Revue d'histoire du droit*, 28 (1960), 297-347, 403-38 e 'Le droit romain en Belgique', in *Ius romanum Medii Aevi, V b* (Milano, 1966), pp. 1-65; J. Gilissen, 'A propos de la réception du droit romain dans les provinces méridionales des Pays de par-deça aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles', *Revue du Nord*, 158 (1958), 259-71; E. I. Strubbe, 'De receptie in de Vlaamse rechtbanken van midden veertiende tot einde vijftiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis. Revue d'histoire du droit*, 29 (1961), 445-62. La mobilità degli studenti provenienti dai Paesi di Paul de Baenst è stata oggetto di una lunga teoria di studi da parte di H. de Ridder-Symoens come ad esempio: 'Brabanders aan de rechtsuniversiteit van Orléans (1444-1546). Een socio-professionele studie', *Bij-*

Completa il quadro culturale relativo a Jan de Baenst e convincono dell'assoluta necessità di tener distinto il balivo dall'omonimo figlio i rapporti con William Caxton.¹⁸⁹ Di Jan de Baenst si ricordano i viaggi in Oriente e in Terra Santa,¹⁹⁰ dove fu col carmelitano Adriaan Pas, «laudatus et celebrer propter pias conciones suas et utiles»: † 26 marzo 1494.¹⁹¹ La croce di Gerusalemme e la ruota di Santa Caterina ornavano infatti il suo sepolcro.¹⁹² Pare però che nella famiglia de Baenst il

dragen tot de geschiedenis, 61 (1978), 195-347; 'De universitaire vorming van de Brabantse stadsmagistraat en stadfunctionarissen. Leuven en Antwerpen, 1430-1580', *Varia historica brabantica*, 6-7 (1978), 21-125; 'Tendences et méthodes de recherche sur la mobilité universitaire', in *Dall'Università degli studenti all'Università degli Studi*. A cura di A. Romano (Messina, 1991), pp. 27-42; 'Vlaamse studenten aan de Rechtsuniversiteit van Orléans 1444-1546: een overzicht', in *Beleid en bestuur in de oude Nederlanden. Liber Amicorum prof. dr. M. Baelde* uitgegeven door H. Soly en R. Vermeir (Gent, 1993), pp. 105-26. Le linee generali del problema della mobilità degli studenti nel Medioevo sono state tracciate dall'Autrice in: 'Mobilität', in *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*. Hrsg. v. W. Rüegg, I, *Mittelalter* (München, 1993), pp. 255-75 (L'opera è in commercio anche in inglese). Sono molto prudente nell'attribuzione del Virgilio di Holkham Hall alla biblioteca di Jan de Baenst per il fatto che a quella di Paul lo ha assegnato N. Geirnaert che conosce la cultura brugense del Quattrocento infinitamente meglio di me: 'Bruges et la vie intellectuelle en Europe au Moyen Age', p. 247.

¹⁸⁹ *Vlaamse kunst*, p. 276. Al proposito ritengo necessario fare alcune considerazioni. Il volume quinto del più volte citato *Inventaire* di L. Gilliodts - Van Severen contiene diversi documenti relativi ad un Jan de Baenst dietro al quale potrebbero celarsi diverse persone. Parlando di Zeghin de Baenst è già stato segnalato un documento del 5 maggio 1467 riferentesi senza alcun dubbio al figlio del balivo e mecenate della cultura perché chiamato fratello di Zeghin (V, 469). E' invece il balivo suo padre l'omonimo citato in un conto spese per un gruppo di altolocati personaggi di Brugge andati a visitare le mogli degli inviati di Brugge a Lubecca (IV, 499). Il catalogo *Vlaamse kunst* fa, come si è visto, una persona sola di Jan balivo e di Jan mecenate aggiungendo che questo (ipoteticamente) unico Jan sarebbe ricordato come borgomastro di Brugge nel 1470 e sempre come borgomastro avrebbe accompagnato nel 1473 a Digione la salma di Filippo il Buono: p. 276. Il balivo ha lasciato la carica nel 1460 per l'età avanzata e sembra quindi difficile ritrovarlo borgomastro dieci e più anni dopo: deve trattarsi del figlio. Se, come fa notare van Rompaey (*Het grafelijk baljuwsambt*, p. 218) la chiamata nel Gran Consiglio fu soprattutto un'onorificenza per l'ex balivo a causa dell'età avanzata, ritengo molto difficile che sia lui e non piuttosto suo figlio il borgomastro di Brugge andato a Gent nel febbraio 1464 per le vicende della rottura tra Filippo il Buono e Carlo conte di Charolais (Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 445). Nei conti del 1453-54 sono registrati dei pagamenti, tra altri, a Jan de Baenst per un viaggio ufficiale a Lubecca (Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 411): mancando la qualifica di balivo ed essendo impossibile immaginare che il balivo andasse a Lubecca a trattare gli affari di Brugge scarterei in sede di identificazione il padre ed opterei per il figlio.

¹⁹⁰ Viaene, 'Anthonis de Roovere', p. 357 e *Vlaamse pelgrimstochten, een verzameling opstellen over bedevaarten en bedevaarders vanuit Vlaanderen in de late Middeleeuwen* (Brugge, 1982), p. 195.

¹⁹¹ Rombout de Doppere, *Fragments inédits*, p. 47.

¹⁹² Geirnaert-Vandewalle, *Adornes en Jeruzalem*, p. 76 n. 24. La sua casa è ricordata da de Doppere: pp. 70 e 71. E' certamente il mecenate della cultura quel Jan de Baenst

pellegrinaggio in Terra Santa fosse tradizione. Secondo Viaene Lodewijk de Baenst, padre di Paul, è noto come cavaliere di Gerusalemme e suo figlio Lodewijk iunior portava il titolo di cavaliere di Gerusalemme e di Santa Caterina.¹⁹³

Il bisnonno di Paul era nella memoria di questi e quindi anche nel discorso di Agricola un lontano ricordo: «erat Paulo proavus paternus Johannes Baenst vir equestris ordinis praestantissimus, summae et apud cives suos et apud externos opinionis, summae autoritatis». Si tratta del marito di Elisabeth Bave, morta l'11 aprile 1396. Nella chiesa di San Giovanni a Sluis c'era la tomba dedicata alla sua memoria e a quella del marito Jan morto il 21 marzo 1403.¹⁹⁴ La menzione di Elisabeth Bave viene a proposito per ricordare un'altra parentela importante della famiglia de Baenst opportuna a rinforzo di quanto Agricola declama sugli innumerevoli personaggi significativi con cui per parte paterna e materna Paul era imparentato. Una sorella di Elisabeth, Barbe, sposò Mathieu van Schatille: la loro figlia Joanna fu la prima moglie di Jacob Breidel iunior,¹⁹⁵ altra rilevante famiglia da aggiungere ai già ricordati Adornes e Halevyn. Cronologicamente il 'proavus' di Paul de Baenst dovrebbe essere un'identica persona con lo scabino del Vrije documentato nell'ultimo decennio del Trecento.¹⁹⁶

«Temporis nos angustia premit» afferma Agricola e si limita ad indicare l'ampiezza della parentela di Paul e della sua importanza, con la topica lode di «pudicitia, virtus, nobilitas» dei membri femminili. Dati del resto alcuni esempi non valeva la pena di insistere troppo: gli uditori di Agricola erano per vasta parte italiani e non lì si poteva tediare entrando nei dettagli di vicende politiche lontane e di carattere locale ed elencando nomi di sconosciuti. A documentazione della veridicità di Agricola per la parte femminile della famiglia limito le mie citazioni ad Adriana de Baenst, moglie di Karel Halevyn e figlia di Zeghin. La tomba si trovava nella chiesa degli eremitani di Sant'Agostino e

che è stato arrestato agli inizi del governo di Maria di Borgogna il 16 marzo 1477 insieme a 16 antichi magistrati di Brugge tra cui Pieter Metteneye: Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, III, 18. E' altrettanto certamente la medesima persona quel Jan de Baenst coinvolto nel 1474 in un processo con Josse van Varsenare: J. van Rompaey, *De Grote Raad van de Hertogen van Boergondië en het Parlement van Mechelen* (Brussel, 1973), p. 422 n. 275.

¹⁹³ Vlaamse pelgrimstochten, p. 195.

¹⁹⁴ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, V, 279. L'Autore corregge la notizia data in I p. 25 secondo la quale Jan sarebbe morto l'11 aprile 1396.

¹⁹⁵ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, I, 163-65 n°175.

¹⁹⁶ P. Bonenfant - J. Bartier, *Ordonnances de Philippe le Hardi, de Marguerite de Male et de Jean sans peur, 1381/1419* (Bruxelles, 1974), II, 15, 17, 205.

l'epigrafe è tramandata.¹⁹⁷ La casata degli Halevyn era una delle più nobili e più antiche della contea di Fiandra,¹⁹⁸ ma per Rombout de Doppere Karel apparteneva alla fazione nemica dei filoducali: «Hic non erat amicus oppido Brugensi. Deus illi parcat...Paucos audivi dicentes: Requiescat in pace».¹⁹⁹ Per dare ragione ad Agricola e sottolineare l'importanza degli elementi maschili della famiglia de Baenst cito soltanto i nomi dei due Guido, forse padre e figlio. Guy de Baenst senior è stato balivo di terra ('landbaljuw') a Sluis.²⁰⁰ Guy de Baenst iunior divenne negli anni ottanta consigliere nel Consiglio di Fiandra. Nel 1463 aveva ospitato nella sua casa di Sluis Margherita di York dopo il suo arrivo dall'Inghilterra.²⁰¹ Possiamo così concludere che Agricola il 10 agosto 1473 ha veramente pronunciato in duomo a Pavia, verso le 10 o le 11, l'elogio di una delle maggiori famiglie di Brugge e con essa del partito borgognone facendo apertamente l'elogio della casa di Valois e soprattutto di Carlo il Temerario.

La carriera di Paul de Baenst, signore di Voormezele,²⁰² si svolge in questo orizzonte: membro del Gran Consiglio di Maria di Borgogna, come si è detto, Presidente del Consiglio di Fiandra dal 1480 al 1488 e poi dopo la pace di Kadzand dal luglio 1492 alla morte, 1497. Partecipò ad importanti missioni diplomatiche: quella presso Luigi XI che preparò la pace di Arras (1482) e quella che ebbe come conseguenza la liberazione di Filippo il Bello da parte dei cittadini di Gent. Fu uno dei protagonisti durante la prigionia a Brugge di Massimiliano I e subì anche l'arresto. Ebbe nel 1489 molta parte nelle trattative che condussero alla conclusione della pace di Montils-les-Tours insieme a 'borgognoni' di primo piano come Jean le Sauvage e Thomas de Plaines, che era stato rettore dell'Università di Pavia.²⁰³ Per il resto basti il rinvio ad una

¹⁹⁷ Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, I, 231-32; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, III, 411 n° 376.

¹⁹⁸ Mullie, *Grafkapellen*, p. 36.

¹⁹⁹ Rombout de Doppere, *Fragments inédits*, p. 61.

²⁰⁰ Van Rompaey, *Het grafelijk baljuwsambt*, p. 645.

²⁰¹ Kerkhoffs-De Heij, *De Grote Raad*, p. 14.

²⁰² J.Béthune de Villers, *Epitaphes et monuments des Eglises de la Flandre au XVI^{me} siècle d'après les manuscrits de C.Gailliard et d'autres auteurs* (Bruges, 1900), pp. 225-26; W. Desodt, *Voormezele*, s. d. n. l. con qualche riproduzione dell'abbazia; *Dit is West-Vlaanderen. Steden, gemeenten, bevolking* III (Brugge, 1962), p. 1978; J. Pycke, 'Prévôté puis abbaye de Sainte-Marie a Voormezele', in *Monasticon belge. Tome III, Flandre Occidentale* (Liège, 1974), III, 691-756.

²⁰³ Come studente in civile e rettore è documentato alla licenza e dottorato in canonico di Pierre de Châtillon, priore di Notre Dame de Thoiry in Savoia: Sottili, *Lauree pavesi*, pp. 107-109.

fonte²⁰⁴ concludendo però che il cronista di Brugge ha pronunciato su Paul de Baenst una severa condanna spiegabile probabilmente solo in parte con l'appartenenza di Paul al partito avversario.²⁰⁵ Il cronista indica la data della morte (21 luglio 1497), e il luogo, presso Voormezele, nel cui monastero fu sepolto; sa che era dottore in civile ed in canonico («doctor legum et iuris»), piccolo di statura, ma di grande dottrina e indipendenza, avido di denaro, di cui non aveva bisogno perché ricco e nobile, proveniente da una famiglia che de Doppere ben conosceva. Quando morì, furono in pochi a rimpiangerlo: «Paucos audivi dicere: molliter quiescat». Tre frasi caratterizzano l'operato di questo amico dei principi: «Nunquam bene meritus de Flandria, sicut nec alii de Bastelingi (sic)», «Quamvis esset civis Brugensis ingenuus, parvus tamen erat amicus reipublicae», «Sed nihil erat ut pro tanto (*i quattrini*) fieret tantus hostis suae patriae». Agricola, come leggeremo nelle pagine seguenti, lo ha presentato all'Università legista pavese con ben altri connotati.

Concludendo e passando all'edizione, nel fissare le norme ecdotiche occorre tener conto di un'importante frase della lettera in cui Johannes von Plieningen comunica al fratello Dietrich l'avvenuta trascrizione del codice ora a Stoccarda: «Omnia namque cum exemplaribus ipse contuli».²⁰⁶ Nel caso dell'orazione per Paul de Baenst l'«exemplar» non era l'autografo, perché il testo presenta numerose mende che la revisione, se Johannes von Plieningen ha veramente rivisto l'orazione e sue sono le correzioni, non ha sanato. Per questo ritengo legittimo in sede di edizione un ampio intervento normalizzatorio nelle maiuscole, nell'interpunzione e nell'introduzione costante dei dittonghi: per il resto accolgo le irregolarità ed incongruenze del manoscritto. Si tratta di una posizione discutibile. Meglio sarebbe stata forse un'indagine sugli autografi di Agricola per ricavare ed applicare le sue abitudini ortografiche. Una scelta del genere avrebbe però portato per ragioni di tempo a rinunciare a fare rapidamente l'edizione. A questo punto non resta che leggere finalmente quel bel testo che l'Umanista proveniente dal Nord declamò certamente con successo in una giornata estiva probabilmente piena di sole nel duomo di Pavia, davanti alle autorità, ai professori e agli studenti debitamente vestiti della toga accademica.

²⁰⁴ E. Karagiannis, *De functionarissen bij de Raad van Vlaanderen (1477-1492). Een onderzoek naar de sociale invloeden bij de samenstelling van de Raad* (Università di Gent, Tesi di licenza, 1991-92), pp. 69-72.

²⁰⁵ Rombout de Doppere, *Fragments inédits*, p. 67.

²⁰⁶ Pfeifer, 'Rudolf Agricola', 99.

APPENDICE

Oratio rectoratus pro domino Paulo de Baenst per Rodolphum Agricolam Papiae²⁰⁷ dicta anno salutis 1473.²⁰⁸

Cum magna per se res atque in primis ardua sit,²⁰⁹ magnifice Rector, vosque praestantissimi viri, egregias clarorum hominum res recteque facta et principem ipsam reatricemque rerum humanarum virtutem dignis prosequi verbis atque qua par est oratione complecti, tum certe dicturo mihi hoc loco de ingentibus laudibus Pauli de Baenst qui recturam est in praesentia initurus, hominis tam diuturna vobis vitae integritate spectati, tanto omnium vestrum studio honorati, tantis virtutibus praediti, ea sollicitudo et, ut verius dixerim, trepidatio oboritur ut, nisi summa me benignitas modestiae vestra²¹⁰ firmaret, animo collabi et deficere mihi foret necesse. Undecunque ordiri velim, quantamque²¹¹ excellentiae, laudis, gloriae suae cupiam arripere portionem, protinus alia ex parte maior mihi semper magisque mirandus occurrit. Sive enim fortunae munera, generis claritatem,²¹² opes honestissimas, amplissimas divitias memorare pergam, summae bonitati naturae cedent ista atque obruentur. Sive haec ipsa exequi stet animus quaecunque sunt nativa et tanquam genio felitior bona collata, eximius eruditionis cultus, eximius integritatis, probitatis, mansuetudinis atque in omni virtutis genere splendor ista tamen adumbrabit. Quid fatiam igitur? Quid consilii capiam? Tacere non licet et eloqui pro rerum dignitate non possum.²¹³ Cuius enim tenuissimam laudum partem alius longe (f. 323v = 343v) facundior difficulter aequaret, eius quomodo imbecillitas mea maximum gloriae pondus sustinebit? Vos, vos,²¹⁴ mihi, praestantissimi viri, vestra humanitas, ut praedixi, animos praebet; vestram mansuetudinem mihi, veluti signum quoddam in tanto mentis meae tumultu ad bene sperandum video oblatam.²¹⁵ Sed neque vos laudum suarum modum ex hac qualicunque oratione mea putabitis aestimandum, verum ex rebus factisque suis quibus se vobis tanto tempore probavit, meque non tam virtutes suas velle nunc demum vobis explicare credetis, quam admonitorem esse testemque iudicii atque voluntatis erga ipsum vestrae quam iam pridem conceptam inclusamque animis vestris hoc recenti ornamento nominis atque dignitatis suae declarastis. Equidem cum mecum reputo Pauli ipsius praestantiam, decus, virtutes et vitae intueor institutionem,

²⁰⁷ 'Papiae': aggiunto nell'interlinea dal correttore senza il dittongo.

²⁰⁸ L' *assumptio capucii* del rettore dell'Università legista, già eletto il 4 luglio, aveva luogo il 10 agosto.

²⁰⁹ Cic., *Orat.*, 33: «magnum opus... et arduum».

²¹⁰ Col. 3,12: «Induite vos... benignitatem, humilitatem, modestiam, patientiam».

²¹¹ Ms. 'quantumque'.

²¹² Quint., *Inst. Or.*, 8, 6, 7: «generis claritatem»; Pl., *Pan.*, 70, 12: «Cur enim te principe, qui generis tui claritatem virtute superasti...».

²¹³ Cfr. «Loqui prohibeor et tacere non possum»: Walter Map, *Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat*: PL, 30, 262; W. Map, *De nugis curialium*, edited and translated by M. R. James (Oxford, 1983), p. 288. Cfr. anche: «Loqui vereor et tacere non expedit»: Petrus Blesensis, *Epistula* 95 (PL., CCVII, 298).

²¹⁴ Sul secondo 'vos' un segno di rimando al margine apposto dal correttore.

ipse mihi cum maiorum suorum gloria certamen videtur quoddam subiisse²¹⁶ plus ne ab eis nobilitatis acceperit, an plus ipsis claritatis sit daturus. Pulcherrimum, mehercule, laudatissimumque certamen et in quo cui ipsorum priores tribuas, haud facile discernas. Nam huius ea est honestas, tanta virtus ut quibuscumque maioribus ortus summo ipsis esset decori futurus. Ea quoque progenitorum gloria ut qualiscumque ex ipsis procreatus, ipsorum splendore fieret clarus. Paternum nanque genus ex Baenstensis (f. 324r = 344r) sibi, ex Loscardis maternum, insignis utraque familia et Brugensis civitatis quae inter omnia occidentis emporia et opum magnitudine et frequentia negotiatorum et commertiorum vel copia vel pretio vel varietate praestantissima est. Huius inquam civitatis honoribus omnibus perfuncta planeque cumulata, praeterea quoque principibus suis <fidelis> atque egregie cara et alias quidem semper et nostra insuper²¹⁷ <aetate> illustrissimis et honoris causa mihi nominandis viris Philippo Burgundiae duci ac Karolo praecipue, qui nunc summa cum laude rerum potitur. Cuius quidem maximi ac singularis exempli principis iudicium atque benevolentiam nescio an dicam quibus ber²¹⁸ honoris titulis praeferendam, aequandam certe dicere ausim, cuius tot tam egregie tantaque virtute partae victoriae,²¹⁹ tam feri populi subacti, potentissimi principes victi, ex cuius manu permaximi nostra aetate reges (nota loquor)²²⁰ vel periculum metuunt vel sperant salutem, quem nemo strenuitate in bello, nemo in pace tranquillitate, nemo consilio in dubiis, animo in asperis, in secundis moderatione superavit. Quale autem tanti ducis iudicium putari oportebit qui orbis terrarum iuditio omnibus omnis aevi viris omni virtutis genere confertur? Ut autem rem in pauca conferam, erat Paulo proavus paternus Iohannes Baenst, vir equestris ordinis praestantissimus, summae et apud cives suos et apud ex(f. 324v = 344v)teros opinionis, summae auctoritatis. Avus vero Iohannes eodem cognomento praetura multos annos eximia integritate, maxima iusticia Brugibus gessit ut nullius unquam potentia severitas infracta fuerit, nullius periculis humanitas clausa. Huius filius Ludovicus magna prudentia atque industria summum civitatis magistratum saepe gessit, clarissimus quidem et inter incipientes adhuc uberioris gloriae annos apprime laudatus, qui nisi fato praemature foret fractus,²²¹ omnium expectationem, quae summa de ipso, non impleisset modo, sed omni laude superasset. Hic ex honestissima coniuge sua Clara Loscarda²²² primo hunc Paulum genuit, dehinc Ludvicum qui et si tener adhuc et vix per aetatem tantae maturus²²³ curae principi suo

²¹⁵ Ms. 'sublatum', poi corretto dal copista in 'oblatum'; il revisore corregge a margine in 'oblatam'.

²¹⁶ Il copista aveva scritto 'certamen videtur certamenque quendam (sic) subiisse'; il revisore corregge 'certamen videtur quoddam subiisse'.

²¹⁷ Ms. 'nsempera'.

²¹⁸ Il correttore segnala in margine la necessità di una correzione.

²¹⁹ Liv., 27, 31, 3: «victoriae partae fama auxerat»; Svet., Nero 54: «... proditum se partae victoriae».

²²⁰ Le parentesi sono del correttore.

²²¹ Il copista ha scritto 'factus', il revisore corregge in margine con 'fractus'.

²²² Ms. 'Lostarda'.

²²³ Curt., 3, 6, 19: «vix tantis matura rebus»; Sen., Dial., 10, 17, 6: «nondum tantae maturus rei Scipio».

quaestor est mirumque in modum²²⁴ illi acceptus. Sorores eis Clara, Margarita et Anna, quarum Clara castum Deo virginittatis florem primis protinus consecravitt annis; Margarita vero nupsit Petro Mettengo, praefecto oppidi cui Aldenardo nomen est, viro primario et in praecipuis cubiculi principis sui²²⁵ ministris habito. Anna uxor est Iacobi Boudini, iuris utriusque doctoris consultiissimi atque inter paucos eruditi. Transeam oportet multos ornatissimos viros, transeam proavum maternum Iohannem Loscardum,²²⁶ hominem probatissimae virtutis atque aestimationis; transeam magnum avunculum Iohannem cui (f. 325r = 345r) tam fida cum illustrissimo duce Philippo familiaritas fuit ut, quotiens duci collibisset laxare curis animum, domum ipsius nonnumquam solus, plerumque uno aut ad summum altero comitatus sese recipere soleret. Transeundus patruus eius Iohannes cui de Sancto Georgio cognomentum est, vir equestris ordinis, qui strenuissimum²²⁷ omnibus bellis Karolo se praebuit armaque sua semper est octuaginta equitum manu secutus. Quid Sigerum dicam, patruum item Pauli, qua prudentia, integritate, auctoritate virum, qui domi consilio, foris auxilio, apud principem vero, si quando gravior res incidisset, gratia atque benevolentia id effecit ut spes <et> patriae suae parens iure sit aestimatus. Quid praeterea tot spectatissimos viros, strenuissimos equites, fortissimos barones commemorem²²⁸ vel propinquos vel affinitate coniunctos? Nec deerant insignia pudicitiae, virtutis, nobilitatis in muliebri sexu exempla si percensere omnia vacaret; sed quoniam temporis nos angustia premit, genus ipsius quia explicare non possumus, hactenus satis fuerit attigisse.

Has ergo veluti faces ad omne virtutis iter Paulus respectans sibi praelatas, flammam illam quam praecipuus ait hystoricus in egregiis virorum pectoribus, quum maiorum intuerentur imagines, nasci, eam ipsam quoque animo suo hausit atque prorsus immersit idque sibi omni studio, cura, sollicitudine, omnibus²²⁹, ut dicitur, nervis (f. 325v = 345v) enitendum putavit, non ut generis gloria ad commendationem sui uteretur, sed ut quibus maioribus ortus esset quisque ex rebus virtutibusque suis intelligere posset.²³⁰ Induit sibi protinus hanc a tenero mentem neque ullam aetatis partem passus est incultu²³¹ perire;²³² non ludicros primae pueritiae annos, non lascivientis illum adolescentiae²³³

²²⁴ Ms. 'immodum'.

²²⁵ Ms. 'suis'.

²²⁶ Ms. 'Lostardum'.

²²⁷ Ms. 'strenuissimo'.

²²⁸ Ms. 'comemorem'. Il correttore ha aggiunto una sbarra orizzontale sulla 'o'.

²²⁹ Cic., *Verr.*, II, 3, 130: «Attendite iudices; omnibus enim nervis mihi contendendum est [...]».

²³⁰ Cfr. Sall., *Bell. Iug.*, 4, 5: «Nam saepe ego audiavi Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, quom maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere neque prius sedari quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit».

²³¹ Ms. 'in cultu'.

²³² Cfr. Sall., *Bell. Iug.*, 2, 4: «ingenium...incultu... torpescere sinunt».

²³³ Ms. 'adolescentis'.

fervorem, non hanc iam robustioris libertatis aetatem. Omne tempus honestissimis curis, optimis studiis litterarum, eruditionis, probitatis, mansuetudinis, humanitatis impendit primanque vitae partem non, ut plerique solent, qui tamen ipsi quoque laudantur, spe commendavit futuri, sed uberrimis et tanquam praecocibus decori honestatisque fructibus adornavit. Praeteriti autem et incipientis aevi ego illi, posterioris vos mihi estis locupletissimi testes. Vidistis exactam et nullo victam labore circa litteras diligentiam, vidistis assiduam studiorum operam, quin et fructum quoque videtis, ingenium ut natura promptum ita longa exercitum cura atque roboratum, optima doctrina institutum, praestantissima eruditione perpolitum, praestantem divini humanique iuris scientiam, praestantem aequi bonique noticiam, quaeque in iuris studioso optari solent, fida memoria, iugis lectio, exactum²³⁴ iudicium, haec ipsa praestantissima. Consideranti autem mihi ip(s)e (f. 326r = 346r) sum et mores eius vitamque pressius intuenti, mirum nonnunquam solet videri quae tanta sit in illo²³⁵ naturae felicitas aut unde hoc tam constantis animi robur ut in laetissimo vitae spatio, in hac divitiarum amplitudine, hac rerum omnium libertate cohercere sese et omnia facta dictaque ad exactissimam bene recteque vivendi regulam exigere possit atque formare, sit ne benignior numinis, cuius nutu cuncta reguntur, effectus an suus cuique animus ad optima tendens numinis vicem praestet²³⁶ an pariter sit et deus homini favens et homo Deo se praebens regendum. Hoc hoc profecto, hoc est, Dei primum cuncta sunt munus neque magnus quisquam est honestae rei sine divinitate conatus et rursus ille²³⁷ non nisi optimi cuiusque atque dignissimi ad meliora concitat mentem. Unde enim, quemadmodum omnes in Paulo prospicitis, in iuventutis²³⁸ initio mens sedatae senectutis, in summa licentia adductissimum vitae frenum, in amplissima fortuna modestissimus animus, in blandissimis voluptatibus illecebris severitatis horror? Unde in tenero rigor, inter iucunda moderatio, inter laeta gravitas nisi ad altioris cuiusdam potestatis imperium mens nostra vitae cursum in tam turbidis rerum humanarum fluctibus gubernaret?²³⁹ Gubernat sane bonorum deus mentem, mens vero dirigit vitam, vita (f. 326v = 346v) rectissima traducitur ad artium optimarum praescriptum,²⁴⁰ quarum quanta in Paulo sit copia ipse de se moresque sui pulcherrimum praebent documentum. Quis enim iustitiae peritior est putandus quam hic ipse qui est iustissimus? Quis temperantiae²⁴¹ praeceptorum doctior quam qui temperantissimus? Quis modestiae mansuetudinisque offitiorum scientior quam qui, par cum sit virtute atque dignitate summis,²⁴² infimis tamen se comitate et

²³⁴ Ms. 'ex actum'.

²³⁵ Ms. 'in ullo'.

²³⁶ Ms. 'prestat'.

²³⁷ Pl., Ep. 1, 5, 5: «Rursus ille: Quaero, quid de Modesto sentias».

²³⁸ Il correttore per facilitare la lettura ha posto sulla 'i' un accento e distinto la lettera 'u' con il segno grafico v.

²³⁹ Ms. 'gubernaret'.

²⁴⁰ Ces., Bell. Civ., 3, 51, 4, 2: «agere ad praescriptum».

²⁴¹ Ms. 'temperantis'.

²⁴² Ms. 'summus'.

*facilitate*²⁴³ *praestet aequalem?* *Hoc est illud in<signe> et humanae mentis laudibus mirandum*²⁴⁴ *quotiens cum honestarum rerum scientia vita consentit et quum aliis tuam eruditionem probaris, tuos ipse mores tibi probare possis.*

*Quid memorem coniunctissimam virtutis comitem vel potius virtutis praestantissimae munus benevolentiam et erga hunc omnium et huius erga omnes? Qua diligentia ille, quo studio, quibus meritis optimi et ornatissimi cuiusque sibi amicitiam pararit, quanta semel paratam cura firmarit, quantaque firmatam fide servarit? Est videre*²⁴⁵ *secum intimas honestissimorum huius civitatis virorum familiaritates et arctissimam consuetudinem vitae nec quisquam peregrinum eum, sed civem putat ut non illatus huic praeclarissimae urbi, sed natus in ea possit videri.*

At vero, ut cetera mittam, pulcherrimum illud florentissimae Germanorum nationis (f. 327r = 347r) de ipso iudicium ingentis certe laudis argumentum debet putari quibus, quum esset adversus Gallos non odium (quod enim esse in tam benignis animis posset?), sed ea quae tranquillissimas solet turbare mentes aemulatio honorum atque dignitatis, ipsi, seposita omni contentione, non longo ambitu fatigati, non precibus victi,²⁴⁶ sed solo virtutum probitatisque suae respectu, ultro volentesque quo cumulatiorem²⁴⁷ beneficii sui gratiam inirent,²⁴⁸ resistentem adhuc et prope tergiversantem ad munia magistratus huius obeunda protraxerunt. Iam vero consensus in ipsum et sollicitudo optimorum eorundemque labor in petitione, honoris studium in suffragatione, postea vero quam rector est renunctiatus totius civitatis gaudium, summa omnium laetitia facile et quid de aetate peracta sentirent cuncti et quid sperarent de futura pronuntiavit.²⁴⁹ Equidem haud cunctanter affirmaverim, quum publicis ex comitio humeris domum est relatus, tum vel maxime sensisse ipsum quantum oneris sibi incumberet, quum intelligeret praeteritam vitam, cuius illa laude tribuebantur, non solum tuendam sibi, sed etiam superandam. Quod ipsum quoque facturum

²⁴³ Cic., *Mur.*, 66, 18: «... Sed si illius comitatem et facilitatem tuae gravitati severitatisque asperseris...».

²⁴⁴ Ms. 'hoc est illud in et humanae mentis laudibus mirandum'. È possibile un'altra correzione mediante l'espunzione di 'et': 'hoc est illud in humanae mentis laudibus mirandum'. Il correttore ha segnalato la corruzione, ma non è intervenuto.

²⁴⁵ Cfr. «Est hic videre»: lettera di Agricola a Johannes von Dalberg (E. Liebhenguth - R. Seidel, 'Die Korrespondenz Rudolf Agricolas mit den süddeutschen Humanisten', in *Rudolf Agricola 1444-1485*, p. 209); «Erat videre cuncta...»: traduzione latina della lettera di Arnould de Lalaing a Paul de Baenst (*Lucubrationes*, p. 223); «Est apud Platonem videre...»: *De inventione dialectica libri tres. Drei Bücher über die Inventio dialectica*. Auf der Grundlage der Edition von Alardus von Amsterdam [1539] kritisch herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Lothar Mundt (Tübingen, 1992), p. 464. Questo grecismo non presuppone confidenza col greco da parte di Agricola già in Pavia: R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, II: Satzlehre*. Zweite Auflage in zwei Teilen. Neubearbeitet von C. Stegmann, Erster Teil (Hannover, 1912), p. 669.

²⁴⁶ Liv., 42, 22, 7 «Popiliae familiae precibus victus».

²⁴⁷ Liv., 4, 60, 2: «id efficiebat multiplex gaudium cumulatioremque gratiam rei».

²⁴⁸ Ms. 'in irent'.

²⁴⁹ Il copista ha scritto 'pronuntiabit', il correttore sostituisce 'b' con 'v' nell'interlinea.

*eum audeo*²⁵⁰ polliceri haecque praeclara laudum suarum ornamenta, quin et hoc quod ab alio fieri non posset, se ipsum etiam, quae est industria sua, vincet. Feretis vos quidem fructum amplissimum ex huius (f. 327v = 347v) dignitate quem tam diligenter ornastis. Cernetis in vestro beneficio gloriam suam auctam, in sua virtute vestram laudem amplificatam et ille, quum ad hunc diem usque praestiterit ut hoc ipsum honoris amplissimi onere²⁵¹ circumdaretis, nunc certe tanto munere vestro devinctus praestabit actis meritisque vestris ut, quantum antehac²⁵² magistratum hunc conferre sibi cupivistis, tantum collatum sibi esse ipsum gaudeatis.

Hactenus vobiscum, praestantissimi viri, prout temporis brevitats²⁵³ simul et tenuitas ingenii mei tulit ut de innumeris²⁵⁴ Pauli laudibus paucas <tangerem>. Reliqua tecum, Paule, de hoc clarissimorum ordine virorum, qui ius omne magnitudinis potestatisque suae apud te esse voluerunt. Amplissimum sustines istorum beneficio²⁵⁵ munus, amplissimo succedis viro et virtutibus omnibus consumato Antonio Bulgiarino, qui res huius ordinis summa diligentia stabilivit, maxima prudentia prospexit, eximia iusticia temperavit. Is autem,²⁵⁶ quo faciliorem tibi viam rerum administrandarum reliquit, eo dedit acriorem imitandae virtutis stimulum, aequandae laudis rationem difficiliorem. Habebis materiam qua virtus tua innotescat; habebis, inquam,²⁵⁷ aut invenies: neque enim talis animus tantumque decus in obscuro poterit latere. Si quid huius magistratus²⁵⁸ temporis celeritate fugit, si (f. 328r = 348r) quid imperitorum²⁵⁹ latuit fraude, id tu prehendes inque lucem proferes, et severitate legum iusticiaque aequitateque tua emendatum perfectumque reddes.

Non es monendus mihi ut iusta facias, recta colas: iam pridem te ipse monuisti. Non est ordinis huius tibi commendanda maiestas, sua ipsam tibi commendat benevolentia. Unum hoc dixisse satis habeo ut tam bonos alios facias quam te ipse²⁶⁰ fecisti. Nec difficile fuerit. Poteris, efficies. Rector enim eris, imperabis. Dixi.²⁶¹

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²⁵⁰ Ms. 'audes'. Il correttore ha posto il segno % su 'eum'. Con questo segno indica i passi testualmente dubbi. Forse leggeva 'cum'.

²⁵¹ Ms. 'honore'. Questa correzione è stilisticamente più sostenibile di: 'oneris amplissimi honore'.

²⁵² Ms. 'ante hac'.

²⁵³ Cic., *Tusc.*, 2, 44: «... brevitats temporis...»; Cic., *Att.*, 1, 10, 1: «brevitate temporis...».

²⁵⁴ Ms. 'in numeris'.

²⁵⁵ Ms. 'beneficii'.

²⁵⁶ Ms. 'autem autem'.

²⁵⁷ Ms. 'in quam'.

²⁵⁸ Ms. 'magistratum'.

²⁵⁹ Ms. 'inpectorum'.

²⁶⁰ Probabilmente il copista ha scritto 'ipsum', corretto in 'ipse' dal revisore.

²⁶¹ Il correttore ha aggiunto: 'anno 1473'.

Dieter WUTTKE

EX UNGULA CERVAM

SEBASTIAN BRANT UND DIE NÖRDLINGER HIRSCHKUH

In dem berühmten Amerbachschen Kunstkabinett zu Basel befand sich im 16. Jahrhundert nicht nur ein Bruchstück des Donnersteins von Ensisheim, des ersten beglaubigten Meteoriten der neueren Geschichte, sondern auch der Huf eines Elchs von der Insel Lemnos.¹ Mag die Aufbewahrung solcher 'Kuriositäten' in einem Kunstkabinett in der ersten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts noch Verwunderung erregt haben, sind wir inzwischen aber längst mit der Erkenntnis vertraut, daß die Kunst- und Wunderkammer als Ursprungsform unserer so reich aufgesplitterten Museumslandschaft forschersiche Zuwendung rechtfertigt.² Zudem sind wir uns bewußt, daß die meisten Wohnungen der modernen, reisefreudigen Bürger in einem gewissen Maße als bescheidene heutige Ausprägungen der alten Kunst- und Wunderkammer angesehen werden können. In die alten Sammlungen, die damit ihre Herkunft aus den kirchlichen Reliquiensammlungen verraten, kamen freilich nur Gegenstände, die eine besondere Kunstfertigkeit zeigten und/oder überindividuelle Aufmerksamkeit heischende Bedeutung hatten. Zur Aufbewahrung des Donnerstein-Fragments hatte die Frage «wie kann ein Stein vom Himmel fallen?» geführt, zu der des Elchhufs «wie kann ein Elch nach Lemnos kommen?» und in jedem Falle auch die Frage, inwieweit es sich um Zeichen, signa, oder auch Vorzeichen, prodigia, handeln könnte, womöglich vom Allerhöchsten veranlaßt.

Es kann kein Zweifel bestehen, daß die Beobachtungs- und Deutungsgeschichte in dem Bereich der signa, der prodigia und auch der monstra (Wunder) in die ernstzunehmenden Annalen der Naturwissenschaftsgeschichte gehört.³

¹ Paul Ganz und E. Major, 'Die Entstehung des Amerbachschen Kunstkabinetts und die Amerbachschen Inventare', *Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Kunstsammlung in Basel* N.F. 3 (1907), 1-68, hier S. 29 und 52. Zum Donnerstein vgl. Anm. 5.

² Vgl. zuletzt mit umfangreicher Bibliographie *Wunderkammer des Abendlandes. Museum und Sammlung im Spiegel der Zeit. Katalog* (Bonn, 1994).

³ Dieter Wuttke, 'Renaissance-Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft in Deutschland', *Gymnasium*, 97 (1990), 232-54, vgl. den ergänzten Wiederabdruck in D.W., *Dazwischen. Kulturwissenschaft auf Warburgs Spuren* (Baden-Baden, 1996). Meine Ausführungen

Der bedeutendste und einflußreichste Deuter, der 'Erzauger' im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation der Zeit um 1500 war kein Geringerer als der berühmte Humanist Sebastian Brant.⁴ Er hatte schon verschiedenartige Wunder gedeutet,⁵ als man ihm im Januar oder Februar 1496 den Huf einer Hirschkuh zeigte offensichtlich mit dem Ziel, ihn zu einer Bewertung zu veranlassen. Die Hirschkuh war nämlich ein Prachtexemplar von ungewöhnlichem Alter, das man bei Nördlingen gefangen und umgehend dem König Maximilian als Geschenk übersandt hatte. Da Brants Deutung des Hufs bisher noch keine Beachtung gefunden hat, sein Werk ist die umfangreichste gedruckte Wunderkammer aktueller 'Wunder' des ausgehenden 15. Jahrhunderts, soll hier diese kleine Forschungslücke gefüllt werden. Möge der führende Neo-Latinist unseres Jahrhunderts zu seinem Jubeltage den Beitrag mit jenem Schmunzeln und jener hilaritas in die Wunderkammer seiner reichen Erfahrungen legen, die auch ernste Wissenschaft erst menschlich machen.

Beginnen wir mit dem Zeugnis des großen 'Wunder'-Sammlers Conradus Lycosthenes aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Lycosthenes führt zum Jahre 1496 u.a. aus: »Maximiliano inuictissimo Romanorum regi insignis ac insolitae magnitudinis cerua donata est, quam Germanico ac Latino carmine doctissimo descripsit Sebastianus Brandus.«⁶ Die deutsche Fassung von Brants Gedicht konnte bisher nicht aufgefunden werden. Die lateinische ist in den *Varia carmina* überliefert, die 1498 erschienen.⁷ Sie trägt dort den Titel: *De Insigni Cerua Regie maiestati*

passen nahtlos zu dem grundlegenden Verständnisrahmen, den Christoph Meinel geschaffen hat: 'Okkulte und exakte Wissenschaften', in *Die okkulten Wissenschaften in der Renaissance*. Hrsg. von August Buck (Wiesbaden, 1992), Ss. 21-43. Einen überzeugenden Verständnisrahmen bietet außerdem Lorraine Daston, 'Wunder, Naturgesetze und die Wissenschaftliche Revolution des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 1991* (Göttingen, 1992), 99-122.

⁴ Joachim Knappe, 'Sebastian Brant', in *Deutsche Dichter der Frühen Neuzeit (1450-1600). Ihr Leben und Werk*. Hrsg. von Stephan Füssel (Berlin, 1993), Ss. 156-72.

⁵ Einen Überblick über meine Beschäftigung mit diesem Bereich bei Brant seit 1974 bietet *Dazwischen* (wie Anm. 3), vgl. zuletzt Dieter Wuttke, 'Erzauger des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation: Sebastian Brant deutet siamesische Tiergeburten', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 43 (1994), 106-31; Wolfgang Harms, 'Sebastian Brant und die Möglichkeiten der frühen Bildpublizistik', in *Sébastien Brant, son époque et 'la Nef des fols'*. Sebastian Brant, seine Zeit und das 'Narrenschiff'. Hrsg. von Gonthier-Louis Fink (Strasbourg, 1995), Ss. 23-45.

⁶ Conradus Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (Basel, 1557), S. 505.

⁷ Sebastian Brant, *Varia Carmina* (Basel, 1498), fol. gv^v-gvii^v. Abschrift danach von Hieronymus Streitl in clm 14053, fol. 113^v-114^v. Zu Streitl vgl. Wuttke (wie Anm. 16), hier Ss. 220-21 mit Anm. 7, und Franz Josef Worstbrock im *Verfasserlexikon, Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, 9 (1995²), Lieferung 2, Sp. 403-6.

donata: Anno domini MCCCCXCVI Elegia Sebastiani Brant. Beide Fassungen waren mit Sicherheit zuerst als Flugblatt verbreitet. Dies ist aus der Stelle zu erschließen, an der das Gedicht in den *Varia carmina* überliefert ist, sowie der Zitierung in der lateinischen wie deutschen Fassung von Brants Flugblatt über die Geburt der Zwillingsau in Landser.⁸ Brant beginnt seine Deutung der Zwillingsau mit einem Überblick über die zahlreichen Wunderzeichen des ausgehenden 15. Jahrhunderts und nennt dabei die Hirschkuh. Aus der deutschen Fassung des Zwillingsau-Gedichts erfahren wir den genauen Fangort, die Gegend um Nördlingen:

Was sol ich von dem tier nûn sagen
 So man ouch hatt jn kurtzen tagen
 Gôn Nördlingen gefangen bracht
 Wie ich vor hab jn gdict gemacht /.

Die lateinische Fassung ist nicht so ergiebig, weil sie weder den Hinweis auf das eigene Gedicht noch auf den Fangort bringt. Dafür wird aber eindeutig von einer »cerva«, die Maximilian geschickt worden sei, gesprochen, und damit die Festlegung des »tiers« der deutschen Fassung auf die Hirschkuh⁹ erleichtert:

Monstrosam taceo ceruam: quae Maxmiliano
 Capta / sacro regi missa proculque fuit.

Als Tag der Geburt der Zwillingsau gibt Brant den 1. März 1496 an. Somit dürfte die Hirschkuh im Januar oder Februar dieses Jahres gefangen und das entsprechende Gedicht zur selben Zeit noch vor dem 1. März komponiert und gedruckt worden sein.¹⁰

Die einzige Quelle des Ereignisses scheint Brants Gedicht zu sein. Der Humanist hat das Tier nicht selbst gesehen. Der König schickte dem Herzog von Auranien einen Huf. Der Weg des Boten führte über Basel, und so konnte Brant wenigstens diesen Huf in Augenschein nehmen. Wahrscheinlich wird er bei dieser Gelegenheit auch die Einzelheiten über das Tier erfahren haben, die er in seinem Gedicht anführt. Als Gewicht des Hufs gibt Brant eineinhalb Pfund, als Größenmaße zehn

⁸ Wuttke, 'Erzauger' (wie Anm. 5).

⁹ F. Schultz ist in seinem Nachwort zu Paul Heitz (Hrsg.), *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant* (Strassburg, 1915), S. VIII, der Bezug auf die Hirschkuh entgangen, seine Interpretation der entsprechenden Verse ist daher abwegig. Abwegiges auch bei Eugen Holländer, *Wunder, Wundergeburt und Wundergestalt in Einblattgedichten des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1921), Ss. 341-2.

¹⁰ René Biéry, 'Landser im Spiegel Sebastian Brants und Albrecht Dürers', *Annuaire de la Société d'histoire sundgoviennne* 1955, Ss. 28-44, hier S. 30 mit Anm. 9 auf S. 42 hat bereits ebenfalls auf ein Flugblatt geschlossen.

Finger Breite und zwanzig Finger Höhe an. Aus der ungewöhnlichen Größe des Hufs folgert er ein hohes Alter. Er meint, das Tier könne aus der Zeit stammen, da Aeneas gerade Latium besetzt oder Hercules die kerynitische Hirschkuh mit dem goldenen Geweih gefangen habe. Es sei ein solches Prachttier, daß Diana, um sie zu besitzen, alles darangegeben und dafür selbst Agamemnons Sache vor Troja gewendet und seine Schiffe versenkt hätte. Es muß eine Diskussion entstanden sein darüber, ob das Tier womöglich keine Hirschkuh, sondern »ein Wild von der Art« gewesen sei, »wie es sich nach Caesar im hercynischen Wald aufhält, das Hirschgestalt und einen großen Körper, aber Rinderhufe hat, und bei dem weibliches wie männliches Tier Geweih tragen«, womit Caesar Rentiere meint.¹¹ Da glaubhaft versichert wird, daß das Tier kein Geweih trug und Hirschhufe hatte, tritt Brant denen bei, die es für eine Hirschkuh halten. Ihren Geburtsort setzt er in ein fernes südöstliches oder südliches Gebirge und sagt, sie müsse sich herumstreifend von dort in den hercynischen Wald verirrt haben. Unter der »silva hercynia« verstand man damals die deutsche Mittelgebirgskette vom Schwarzwald bis zum Böhmerwald.¹²

Den größten Teil des Gedichtes widmet Brant der Vorbedeutung, die das Tier für Maximilian haben soll. Den Ansatzpunkt für die Berechtigung dazu bietet die Feststellung, daß es kein edleres Tier als den Hirsch gebe.¹³ Also ist der Hirsch ein portentum für den edelsten Menschen, den König. Zwei Eigenschaften des Hirsches werden zunächst herausgestellt: 1. Wenn er erkrankt, sucht er die Zweige des Olivenbaumes, frißt davon und schafft sich so Linderung.¹⁴ 2. Schlangen treibt er aus ihren Höhlen, indem er sie anfaucht; danach zertrampelt und verschlingt er sie.¹⁵ Die

¹¹ Gaius Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* VI, 26.

¹² Johannes Colchaeus, *Brevis Germanie descriptio*. Hrsg., übersetzt und kommentiert von Karl Langosch (Darmstadt, 1960), S. 71 mit Anm. 104 (=III,17).

¹³ Michael Bath, *The Image of the Stag. Iconographic Themes in Western Art* (Baden-Baden, 1992).

¹⁴ Otto Keller, *Tiere des klassischen Altertums in kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* (Innsbruck, 1887), Ss. 85-101 zum »Edelhirsch«; Konrad von Megenberg, *Das Buch der Natur*. Hrsg. von Franz Pfeiffer (Reprint Hildesheim, 1962), Ss. 129-131. Zur Selbstheilung durch Verzehr von Zweigen des Ölbaumes vgl. Keller S. 93 mit Bezug auf Wernerus abbas Monasterii S. Blasii, dessen *Libri Deflorationum sive Excerptorum* 1494 in Basel gedruckt worden sind; vgl. PL, 157 (1854), Sp. 721-1256, hier Sp. 1151.

¹⁵ Vgl. Bath (wie Anm. 13), Register, vor allem aber Herbert Kolb, 'Der Hirsch, der Schlangen frißt. Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis von Naturkunde und Theologie in der mittelalterlichen Literatur', in *Mediaevalia litteraria. Festschrift für Helmut de Boor zum 80. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von Ursula Hennig und Herbert Kolb (München, 1971), Ss. 583-610.

Fähigkeit, das Olivenlaub zu nutzen, hat der König neulich gezeigt: Er rief einen Fürstenkonvent ein, nämlich den Reichstag von Worms, und schaffte sich so Rat und Hilfe.¹⁶ Das grüne Olivenlaub möge er weiterhin nutzen und zugleich die verborgenen Schlangen vertreiben und sie zertreten: Dies werde zu seiner vollständigen Heilung führen. Als Ergebnis dieses ersten Deutungsabschnittes ruft Brant daher dem König in der direkten Sprache politischer Aktivierung sentenzhaft zu: Bereite den Krieg vor, um sicheren Frieden zu gewinnen: »Bella moue: vt pacem possis habere bonam.« Die weitere Deutung ist bemüht, aus den Eigenheiten des Hirsches die zur Erreichung des politischen Zieles angemessenen Verhaltensweisen für den König abzuleiten. Der Hirsch ist ein schnelles und wegsicheres Tier, nach Aristoteles ist er im Vergleich zu anderen Vierfüßern besonders klug, freundlich und neugierig, aber eher zur Flucht als zur Konfrontation geneigt. Daraus folgert Brant für Maximilian, er solle schnell auf dem eingeschlagenen Weg fortfahren, seine Aufgabe in schnellem Entschluß anpacken, keinesfalls fliehend dem notwendigen Handeln ausweichen, böse Ratgeber, Denunzianten und falsche Entscheidungen möge er auf jeden Fall meiden. Er möge nicht neugierig die Lockungen der Zeit bewundern, sondern aus Freude am Neuen durch Tapferkeit eine große, wunderbare neue politische Realität schaffen. Hirsche besäßen Galle von besonderer Bitterkeit, demgegenüber möge der König in allen Unternehmungen eine freundliche Gelassenheit bewahren.

An welche politischen Ziele ist gedacht, denen der König mit Hilfe der Fürsten sich zuwenden soll? Brant lenkt zunächst den Blick auf Italien, auf die Erringung der Kaiserkrone.¹⁷ Die gefangene Hirschkuh habe zwar nie ein Geweih getragen, doch der König möge seinem Haupt einem Geweih gleich die heilige Krone aufsetzen. Diese möge er als Waffe gegen alle Feinde richten, dann werde er ein weitverzweigtes Reich gewinnen und selbst das Alter des Hirsches erreichen. Doch sei Vorsicht geboten und zu bedenken, daß diese alte Hirschkuh aus Arglosigkeit schließlich in Bedrängnis geraten sei und in Netzen sich verfangen habe. Dieser Vorsicht möge die Eigenschaft der Hirsche, die Ohren

¹⁶ Dieter Wuttke, 'Wunderdeutung und Politik. Zur Auslegung der sogenannten Wormser Zwillinge des Jahres 1495', in *Landesgeschichte und Geistesgeschichte. Festschrift für Otto Herding zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hrsg. von Kaspar Elm u.a. (Stuttgart, 1977), Ss. 217-44. 1495 — *Kaiser, Reich, Reformen: Der Reichstag zu Worms. Katalog* (Koblenz, 1995).

¹⁷ Literaturhinweise in den in Anm. 16 angegebenen Publikationen.

aufzustellen und auf feindliche Geräusche zu horchen, zugute kommen. Wie die Hirschkuh ihre Jungen Gefahren zu erkennen lehre, so möge auch der König seinem Volk den Weg aus der Gefahr weisen. Diese Gefahr sieht Brant in den Türken.¹⁸ Wie Hunde eine Beute verfolgten diese grimmig die Christenheit und betrieben den Untergang der erbarungswürdigen Kirche. Maximilian möge dem umgestürzten Schiff Petri¹⁹ Hilfe bringen und der Welt die Friedenszeiten zurückgewinnen. Der Humanist schließt mit dem Wunsch an Christus, er wolle die Füße des Königs, der der Berg, die Spitze, der Stein, der unzerbrechliche Fels sei, so sicher über die Bergeshöhen hin lenken, wie wenn es Hirschhufe wären.²⁰

In dem Gedicht finden wir also eine konkrete politische Zielsetzung. Brant konnte gewiß sein, daß er sich in voller Übereinstimmung mit den Plänen des Königs befand. Ein Italienzug war ja vorbereitet und wurde noch 1496 ausgeführt. Und dies Unternehmen sollte die Wege zu einem großangelegten Schlag gegen die Türken ebnen.²¹ Im Januar 1496, kurz vor der Abfassung des Flugblattes, also etwa zu der Zeit, als die Hirschkuh gefangen wurde, spielte die Stadt Nördlingen politisch insofern eine besondere Rolle, als sich dort die Gesandten der für Maximilians Italienpläne wichtigen Heiligen Liga versammelten, um über den Beitritt Englands zu beraten.²²

Von einer unmittelbaren Wirkung des Gedichtes auf Maximilian ist nichts bekannt. Aus der Umgebung des Königs darf registriert werden, daß es in die Sammlung von Humanisten-Gedichten für den Rat Johannes Fuchsmagen Aufnahme fand.²³ Brant selbst hat Teile in seine Schriften *Naenia in Thurcarum nyciteria* von 1518 und *In laudem divi Maximiliani* von 1520 übernommen,²⁴ die beide in Straßburg erschienen sind. In der *Naenia* zitiert er abgewandelt die drei Distichen, in denen er

¹⁸ Hierzu mein Aufsatz 'Sebastian Brant und Maximilian I. Eine Studie zu Brants Donnerstein-Flugblatt des Jahres 1492', zuerst 1976, jetzt in *Dazwischen* (wie Anm. 3), und Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, Bd. II (München, 1975).

¹⁹ Das »Schiff Petri« war ein von Brant bevorzugtes Bild für Kirche und Christenheit, vgl. *Narrenschiff* Kap. 99 und 103. In größerem Zusammenhang beschäftigt sich mit dieser Metapher Peter M. Skrine, 'The destination of the Ship of Fools: Religious allegory in Brant's *Narrenschiff*', *Modern Language Review*, 64 (1969), 576-96.

²⁰ Anspielung auf *Cantica* II 8 und 17?

²¹ Vgl. Anm. 16 und Wiesflecker (wie Anm. 18).

²² Vgl. Wiesflecker (wie Anm. 18).

²³ UB Innsbruck Hs. 644, fol. 108^v-110^v (mit Auslassung der Verse 21 bis 28).

²⁴ *Naenia* fol. Aij^r, *In laudem divi Maximiliani* fol. bi^v-bij^r.

Maximilian zum Eingreifen gegen die Türken und zur Rettung des Schiffes Petri aufruft. In die Lobschrift hat er dieselbe Stelle vom Schluß der *De Insigni Cerua Elegia*, jedoch diesmal fast wörtlich und auf sechs Distichen erweitert, gesetzt.

Der Beginn des Gedichtes zeigt meines Erachtens einen interessanten formalen Aspekt, auf den abschließend eingegangen sei. Er bietet die Vorform eines Emblems.²⁵ Die einzelnen Textteile lassen sich nämlich ohne weiteres folgendermaßen gruppieren und übersetzen: Man schaffe eine *pictura*, auf der ein Hirsch abgebildet ist, der Olivenlaub frißt und gleichzeitig mit den Hufen eine Schlange zertritt. Darüber setze man die *inscriptio* »Bella move, ut pacem possis habere bonam«, darunter die *subscriptio*, die aus Brants Gedankenmaterial gebildet, etwa den Inhalt haben müßte: Ein Herrscher nehme sich den Hirsch zum Vorbild. So wie er einerseits den Ölzweig für seine Heilung zu nutzen und gleichzeitig die böse Schlange zu bekämpfen wisse, um die gewonnene Heilung dauerhaft zu festigen, so möge ein Herrscher mit dem Mittel friedlichen Rates und kriegerischer Tüchtigkeit zugleich die Gewalt der Feinde brechen, also unablässig zum Angriff bereit sein, um umso gewisser den Ölzweig des Friedens genießen zu können. Soweit ich sehe, ist diese Art der Vorbereitung der emblematischen Mode im Bildbereich der Humanistenliteratur noch nicht beobachtet worden.²⁶

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²⁵ Terminologie nach Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock* (München, 1964¹, 1993³), Ss. 18-19.

²⁶ Ein anderes Beispiel bietet z. B. Paul Klopsch, 'Eine Frühform emblematischer Dichtung', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, 10 (1974), 220-31.

Francesco TATEO

L'IDEA DELLO SCRITTORE CRISTIANO MODERNO IN GIANFRANCESCO PICO

La militanza religiosa e il carattere apologetico che informano tutta l'opera di Gianfrancesco Pico hanno deviato generalmente l'attenzione dai risvolti letterari del suo programma di edificazione, mentre hanno destato un certo interesse critico alcuni aspetti particolari e difficilmente riconducibili ad una matrice comune quali l'intervento sul problema dell'imitazione, la dottrina delle streghe e l'indirizzo scettico della sua erudizione. Tuttavia la complessa posizione del filosofo nella prospettiva del secolo XVI richiama, oltre lo *status* del religioso e i suoi sospetti nei confronti delle tendenze paganeggianti dell'umanesimo, l'eredità culturale del Savonarola e dello zio Giovanni,¹ i due campioni rispettivamente della mistica teologica e della scienza speculativa nei quali la crisi umanistica di fine Quattrocento trovò alcuni degli ostacoli più duri alla sua risoluzione avviata in senso retorico e ciceroniano.² Se non è compito agevole, e forse nemmeno proficuo, cercare a tutti i costi una linea organica che colleghi i vari esiti della dottrina e dell'opera di edificazione svolta dal più giovane dei due Pico, è invece possibile

¹ Per la delineazione complessiva delle due personalità, anche in relazione all'immagine che se ne è avuta nei secoli successivi, va tenuta presente ormai soprattutto l'introduzione di E. Garin al congresso su Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nel Cinquantesimo anno della morte 1494-1994, svoltosi a Mirandola nell'Ottobre 1994, come si rimanda agli interventi di A. Biondi per gli aspetti ideologici che diversificano Giovanni e Gianfrancesco Pico.

² Ne ho accennato trattando de 'L'umanesimo' in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo, I. Il Medioevo latino*, ed. G. Cavallo - C. Leonardi - E. Menestò (Roma, 1963), pp. 145-79 (pp. 174-9). Cfr. per la bibliografia F. Tateo, 'Ciceronianismus', in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. G. Ueding (Tübingen, 1994), coll. 225-239. Per la polemica cinquecentesca sul riuso di Cicerone basterà rimandare a M. Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et «res literaria» de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Genève, 1980). Va tenuta presente, per valutare la posizione del Pico, la ricorrente questione della compatibilità fra la retorica ciceroniana e la professione cristiana: un caso particolare ma significativo, risalente ai primi decenni del sec. XVI, ha illuminato anche nelle sue implicazioni di ordine generale L. Gualdo Rosa, 'Ciceroniano o Cristiano? A proposito dell'orazione *De morte Christi* di Tommaso Fedra Inghirami', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 34 (1985), 52-64.

confrontare il significato delle battaglie da lui combattute in difesa della fede con l'orientamento metodologico del suo particolare umanesimo.

Il *De studio divinae et humanae philosophiae* rappresenta, al di là dell'intenzione organica e riassuntiva della trattazione, per la quale ha meritato di esser collocato all'inizio dell'intero *corpus* pichiano,³ il segno più evidente della contraddittoria interpretazione della stessa rinascita delle *humanae litterae*, da un lato come riappropriazione dei valori trasmessi dall'antichità, dall'altro come riconoscimento del loro limite di fronte alla modernità. In effetti il concetto di una sapienza insieme umana e divina costituirà la prospettiva fondamentale della cultura latina del secolo XVI, quasi una sua prerogativa di fronte all'ascesa della scrittura volgare, e sarà fondato su un'esigenza conciliativa quale la stessa tradizione e medievale e umanistica aveva espresso sia nella valorizzazione della cultura dei Padri, sia nella preminenza accordata a due *auctores* come Virgilio e Cicerone, cristiani *ante litteram*. Ma i tempi del Pico avevano conosciuto il pericolo dell'umanesimo paganeggiante e gli scrupoli savonaroliani, lo sviluppo del ciceronianismo in un senso ambiguo che poteva prefigurare un recupero diverso della classicità, il rilancio della poesia volgare e l'esperimento della poesia latino-cristiana. Lo sforzo di risistemazione sostenuto da Gianfrancesco Pico riproponeva la riflessione e la fatica dei Padri e allo stesso tempo rinnovava gli interrogativi posti dagli umanisti nel momento critico della rinascita del latino nella sua veste antica, quale legittimità avesse la lingua colta, quale fosse la sua funzione moderna e il suo rapporto con la lingua volgare, questione, almeno quest'ultima, ormai superata in ambito ideologico e destinata piuttosto all'area diversa degli studi linguistici e grammaticali.

Predomina nel Pico un evidente proposito pratico di ordine pedagogico, che non sempre gli fa distinguere con lucidità il problema della *scientia*, ossia dei contenuti della cultura antica, da quello dell'*eloquentia*, ossia della forma linguistica e retorica, non solo per quel sottinteso, talora anche esplicito, principio agostiniano della scienza che si fa *sapientia* collegandosi con l'*eloquentia* e di quest'ultima che s'invera divenendo forma della sapienza, ma perché lo stesso proposito della

³ Terremo presente (con qualche intervento sulla punteggiatura) Giovanni e Gianfrancesco Pico, *Opera omnia*, ex officina Henricpetrina (Basilea, 1573), tomus II, contenente gran parte delle opere di Gianfrancesco, ripubblicata in edizione anastatica presso Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung (Hildesheim, 1969). Il *De studio divinae et humanae philosophiae* occupa le pp. 3-39.

aedificatio non gli consente di accogliere il criterio eminentemente laico di assumere la retorica come arte umana indipendente dai significati che vi si celano. Per questo il *topos* dei vasi d'oro e d'argento portati dagli ebrei di ritorno in patria viene utilizzato non per riconoscere l'utilità dell'operazione, ma per chiarire le condizioni entro le quali sia possibile che l'operazione stessa non nuoccia:

Quod sane emolumentum cum scientiae tum eloquentiae cum nobis a Christianis fratribus (omnes enim Deum Patrem vocamus) collatum sit, hebetes nimis sumus et male grati si respuamus ac inimicorum nostrorum placitis non praeponamus. Accedit quod securius animi suppellectile ditamur, quando auro et argento quae illi nobis ex Aegypto magno sui labore apportarunt tute tranquilleque uti possumus. Nam, si per Aegypti avia vagaremur a venenosis animalibus magnopere cavere oporteret, ne externa quaerentes bona interna perderemus, hoc est (ut sine aenigmate loquamur) in legendis libris gentilium offendere multa possemus quae vel ad malam religionem nos invitarent vel obscena opera suaderent, vel ad superbiam stimulant. Quapropter periculum esset ne, dum cultum animi quaerimus illecti persuasionibus pravis, tam intellectus quam voluntatis recta instituta desereremus. Multi enim virtutum quas adepti assiduis sudoribus fuerant, eorum studiorum abusu parvo temporis spacio fecere iacturam.

Il discorso rimanda al momento storico cui il movimento umanistico si era ricollegato per valorizzare l'eredità classica, ma per insistere sulla cautela dei Padri, prefigurata nell'avvertimento che la sacra scrittura effettivamente lanciava attraverso la storia dell'esodo. Non per altro fra i moniti degli antichi, con cui qui s'intendono appunto le prime generazioni di dotti cristiani, appare in primo piano Agostino col suo messaggio già recepito da Petrarca nella sua complessa ambiguità:

Nec quenquam veterum opinor reperies faventium eis qui gentilium doctrinas sectantur, quin in eodem contextu quo illud afferunt etiam non commoneant obeundum id officii pavidè et circumspecte. Quare Augustinus in libris *De doctrina christiana*, cum dixisset ad intelligentiam scripturarum sacrarum conducere liberales artes omnemque philosophiam, subiunxit ut is qui sic instructus ad versanda sacra eloquia vellet accedere, illud apostolicum cogitare non cessaret, «scientia inflat, charitas aedificat».⁴

Lo scrupolo, che qui si esplicita, è di carattere morale più che dottrinale e sembra riferirsi propriamente ai 'modi' della cultura pagana, che comunicano una sorta di autosufficienza della dottrina, per cui sorge nell'uomo consapevole delle sue prerogative razionali la superbia, nemica della necessaria umiltà del cristiano e della reale dimensione del suo

⁴ *De studio*, I m, p. 13.

sapere: «Quia homo rationale animal: idcirco difficile fiet, ut qui se alios aut aequasse aut superasse noverit animum ab noxia elatione contineat». Di qui l'invito a leggere piuttosto le opere cristiane che hanno già filtrato la cultura antica:

Tutius Christianorum commentaria versare possumus; nam, si quid quo forte turgeamus hauserimus statim propinatur medela, monemurque saepe ne circumferamur omni vento doctrinae, et quod Christiani vita non in disputando et ostendendo disciplinam, sed in humilitate charitateque perficitur, nocereque maximopere et scientiam et eloquentiam, nisi earum virtutum sale condiantur.

A parte l'ovvia argomentazione di chi si poneva nell'ottica religiosa, siamo di fronte ad una profonda revisione del principio umanistico della lettura diretta dei classici come strumento di una più sicura comprensione degli stessi testi sacri, che era il senso del richiamo agostiniano, oltre che ad una sconfessione della disputa come il modo più adeguato per affermare la propria identità culturale. La tradizione cristiana appare dunque né la naturale continuazione della tradizione classica accresciuta dal messaggio evangelico, né la depositaria della *littera sacra* quale livello più alto di conoscenza rispetto alle *humanae litterae*, ma quella che sostituisce queste ultime «abdicatis superstitionibus et falsis amoribus repudiatis». La menzione della consuetudine antica di radere il capo, le sopracciglia e i peli, e di amputare le unghie alla prigioniera prima di condurla sposa riflette un concetto di purificazione della scrittura antica quale condizione per tramutarsi nella nuova, piuttosto che di reinterpretazione e quindi di accettazione dell'involucro antico nella convinzione che esso possa contenere qualche plausibile verità.

Il punto è assai delicato e riguarda la cultura religiosa dei primi decenni del secolo, in cui s'intensifica attraverso l'ermetismo l'opera d'interpretazione irenica della mitologia, che presuppone la validità delle immagini antiche e la possibilità di fruirne ancora il valore simbolico, proprio perché intese come portatrici di nebulose e molteplici verità. L'analogia fra le superstizioni e i falsi amori che deturperebbero gli autori precedenti alla rivelazione e le forme esteriori, unghie e capelli, gli ornamenti insomma, che dovrebbero scomparire dalla donna prigioniera prima di essere acquisita, rimanda alla polemica sostenuta dal Pico contro le immagini di Venere e Amore, irricuperabili come tali e quindi da bandirsi finanche come prodotti d'arte perché pericoloso incentivo di peccato.⁵ Sotto il

⁵ Nel 1513 apparve a Roma per i tipi di Jacobus Mazochius il carne di Gianfrancesco Pico sulla necessità di mettere al bando Venere e Cupido (*De Venere et Cupidine*

rigore moralistico e l'intransigenza cattolica si nasconde in effetti almeno la disattenzione, se non la condanna, nei confronti dell'indirizzo culturale risalente al neoplatonismo ficiniano.⁶ L'interesse offerto da questo atteggiamento è tanto maggiore quanto più vi si scorge una divergenza dal maggior Pico, nonostante il legame affettivo e culturale dichiarato dal nipote, per quel che riguarda il riuso dei miti, compresi i più discutibili di Venere e amore. Né la questione si arresta entro i limiti del problema religioso, ma coinvolge il problema letterario della validità dei modelli antichi e quindi — come vedremo — dell'imitazione, che non può disgiungersi dalla riflessione religiosa e morale, sebbene la famosa polemica con il Bembo sembri allinearsi sul fronte specifico della retorica.

In realtà, come si è accennato, proprio la mancata estrapolazione dell'*elocutio* dal patrimonio antico, o la mancata conversione tipicamente sofistica, che percorre invece il classicismo, dell'*inventio* in topica, a sua volta disciolta in *elocutio*, implicano l'impossibilità di salvare senza riserve l'oro e l'argento della cultura antica a dispetto della falsità o scarsa validità intrinseca dei suoi oggetti. La cultura degli antichi è valutata dunque nel suo complesso, senza lo stratagemma di salvarne un aspetto in sé valido, per esterno che sia, talché ne vien fuori un sostanziale ridimensionamento dell'*humana philosophia*, quale è espresso alla fine del libro primo in termini apparentemente concilianti:

Nam postquam ostendimus philosophiam humanam posse ad sacrarum literarum noticiam capescendam conducere, nec tantum extimandam quantum multi autumant, nunc de divinis eloquiis pertractandum.

Il primo libro del *De studio* è infatti rivolto non tanto a dimostrare la validità del patrimonio antico, quanto il suo limite, ed il suo limite abbraccia la forma quanto la sostanza, perché gli allettamenti impliciti

expellendis), accompagnato da una lettera, che porta la data dell'anno precedente (29 agosto 1512), a Lilio Giraldi il quale appare chiaramente il promotore della pubblicazione. Il letterato ferrarese premette al carne un distico che interpreta l'operetta come un «rimedio d'amore» (*Et Venerem et caeci stimulos avertere amoris / si quis amat Pici carmina docta legat*). L'epistola con la quale Gianfrancesco aveva inviato il carne al letterato ferrarese, datata 31 luglio, espone l'occasione del carne, cioè la collocazione di due statue antiche di quelle divinità, da parte di Giulio II, in un profumato giardino accanto ad una serie di sculture mitologiche dell'antichità. Rimando alla mia relazione su 'I due Pico e la tematica d'amore nel Cinquecento', svolta nel Convegno sui due Pico tenutosi a Ferrara nel Dicembre del 1994.

⁶ Su questo indirizzo cfr. G. Savarese, *La cultura a Roma tra Umanesimo ed ermetismo* (Roma, 1994).

nella prima possono trarre in inganno e non far riconoscere gli errori della seconda. Il procedimento dimostrativo segue una rigorosa linea dialettica, dalla proposizione iniziale che definisce la bontà della scienza in assoluto e attribuisce l'errore agli accidenti, alla distinzione fra *humana philosophia* e *divina philosophia*, utile ma non necessaria la prima per la formazione del cristiano (capp. I-II). Di qui procede l'esemplificazione storica per valutare se la dottrina dei Gentili abbia più giovato o nociuto ai grandi della Chiesa (cap. III), e per mostrare come essa sia soltanto utile in quanto conduca al culto divino e quindi non sia necessaria dal momento che non è sempre utile, cioè può esserlo più e meno, e talora può essere perfino nociva (capp. IV-VI). Gli ultimi due capitoli del libro I si concludono con la giustificazione del perché i primi autori cristiani abbiano frequentato i libri pagani (cap. VII) e della ragione per cui ora sia necessario leggerli con 'circospezione' (cap. VII). Nel contesto del cap. III il famoso *exemplum* agostiniano della conversione alla scienza attraverso la lettura dell'*Hortensius*⁷ acquista il senso dell'eccezionalità, poiché esso si conclude con un avvertimento contrario:

At parte alia ire nemo potest inficias non modica literarum secularium occasione incommoda ecclesiae obvenisse, dum turgidi quidam inani vento superbiae sola scientiae possessione suffulti prava dogmata sparserunt, vel ob populi favorem emerendum sectatorumque ambitum vel ob pecuniae quaestum.

Il ricorso alle sentenze di Paolo e agli scrupoli di Gerolamo riportano infatti il discorso alla 'distrazione' rappresentata dalle opere pagane, dove scienza ed eloquenza non costituiscono il binomio della sapienza, ma due distinti e alleati nemici:

[...] quando eius animus qui quotidie in disputationibus versatur plurimum a recto in Deum affectu impeditur multasque in partes trahitur et quasi lacer in frusta discerpitur, partem scientia sibi vindicat, partem eloquentia; haec opinio talibus fulcita rationibus in ditionem suam flectit animum, illa aliis argumentationibus roborata contra nititur, ut ab ea deficiens ad se declinet manusque det flexi animo quopiam sillogismo devinciens.

⁷ «Videtur etiam inflammare animum et ad aeternorum amorem ex fluxis temporariis-que traducere, uti de se Augustinus testatur lecto eo Ciceronis libro qui Hortensius inscribitur, quo philosophiae laudes continebantur. Accedit et illud sicuti ante novimus, quod sacra eloquia cum facilius, tum enucleatius apprehenduntur, quapropter ipse Augustinus in libris de doctrina Christiana diffuse docet et philosophorum dogmata quae vera sunt et eloquentiam ab ipsorum libris quasi ab iniustis possessoribus in usum nostrum vendicanda» (*De studio*, I III, p. 13). Riprendendo la citazione dal *De doctrina Christiana*, nel cap. VIII il Pico ricorda l'avvertimento dello stesso Agostino di astenersi dalla superbia, citato precedentemente (cfr. n. 4).

Dove non tanto, come al solito, va considerato il rigore ortodosso, quanto la svalutazione delle arti del quadrivio e del trivio, e che l'eloquenza sia identificata con la cavillosità della dialettica. I *literals praelia* divengono ostacoli alla meditazione sulle verità divine:

Ita saepe fit ut cum Deum velit meditari succurrat quid Parmenides Melissusque de entium pluralitate senserint, credendumne magis Simplicio in hoc an Alexandro Aphrodisiensi. Item an universalia a singularibus cogitatione, aut re reive natura differant, an quantitas sit diversa res a substantia, et caetera id genus inter literals praelia versari solita.

Viene cioè recuperata la diffidenza petrarchesca per le disquisizioni dei naturalisti e i rischi dell'aristotelismo, senza che l'antidoto invocato sia quello dell'eloquenza morale degli antichi, anzi quest'ultima pare confondersi nella generica considerazione delle *literae* litigiose e fomentatrici della superbia.

La propedeuticità della cultura pagana viene quindi, nel cap. VII del libro primo, ridotta al dato di fatto, empirico, della formazione pagana dei fondatori della dottrina cristiana convertitisi successivamente al loro apprendistato nelle arti liberali. Vi si prefigura una sorta di sviluppo della cultura cristiana e moderna, dalla fusione di sapienza e di eloquenza dovuta nelle prime generazioni all'opera di riappropriazione della cultura antica, che tuttavia è superata dalla scoperta di « cose nuove » (*Alii postea surrexerunt, et vetera excoluerunt et invenerunt nova*) con le quali non può più paragonarsi in nulla l'antichità pagana:

Quantum vero pertinet ad confutanda falsa dogmata, ad eloquentiam discendam, ad sacra eloquia facile intelligenda, quibus muneribus obeundis gentilium literas utiles diximus, et sic ab antiquis opinatum putarim, plus utilitatis apud nos, quam apud exteros reperiri, suis enim scriptis nobis has fruges pepererunt. Namque eloquentiam cum sapientia miscuerunt, humanam philosophiam divinae quantum licuit agglutinarunt. Alii postea surrexerunt et vetera excoluerunt et invenerunt nova, adeo ut facile quivis mediocriter eruditus dignoscere queat plus et scientiae et eloquentiae in Christianorum quam gentilium commentariis inesse, plures certe veritates reperiuntur (ut etiam mittam quae deus revelatae sunt) in nostris quam in Ethnorum lucubrationibus. Etiam si Platonem et Aristotelem nominaverim, quis verebitur Augustinum et etiam aliquos priscorum opponere Platoni? Thomam, Albertum, Scotum Aristoteli?⁸

Ne consegue l'apprezzamento dei *recentiores* e dell'attuale generazione di scrittori, cui è noto almeno tutto quello che conobbero gli antichi. Perfino l'obiezione secondo la quale Platone e Aristotele avrebbero

⁸ *De studio*, I VII, p. 20.

iniziato la via del progresso moderno della cultura rivelerebbe la sua debolezza, perché condurrebbe a considerare sempre maggiori i predecessori, con conseguenze assurde di valutazione: Aristotele sarebbe minore e meno dotto di Platone che lo ha preceduto, Platone di Socrate, Socrate di Talete.⁹ Sappiamo che il canone umanistico oscillava fra la valorizzazione massima delle origini e quella del periodo aureo,¹⁰ che comunque rappresenta una vetta con la quale confrontare le minori età successive, e alla quale ricondurre la rinascita. La prospettiva umanistica viene come rovesciata, e mentre l'argomentazione serve innanzi tutto a rigettare il principio della superiorità attribuita ai predecessori per il fatto stesso che siano tali, la conclusione mira a provare esattamente il contrario:

Hi ergo quos nominavimus, quicquid operum Aristotelis ad eorum pervenit manus didicere, et plura alia invenere ipsi, cum nec illis temporibus, sicuti nec postea, in producendis hominibus fuit effoeta natura. Defuit tantum eloquentia, quae non defuit Aristoteli. Sed apud alios eam quaerere datum; neque enim illis etiam eloquentia cedimus. Si enim (ut inquit Fabius) Cicero expressit vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, iocunditatem Isocratis et plures etiam a seipso virtutes extulit eloquentiae, quis apud nos non videat esse Ciceronem, sed Christianum, hoc est aliquem qui eum ad lineam unguemque expresserit? Quis non advertit Lactantium Firmianum aequasse ipsum et forte praecelluisse in eloquendo?¹¹

La confutazione della prospettiva umanistica incontra a questo punto il difficile problema del ciceronianismo, che presuppone un'età aurea in cui le qualità migliori giungano a maturazione e si concentrino in un momento particolarmente felice, degno di perpetuarsi attraverso l'imitazione. Tanto più che proprio l'eloquenza viene indicata, nel passo citato,

⁹ «At tute inquires monstrasse eis iter quo philosophando progredi possent, quod inficias non eo. Sed hac ratione quid colligis? Sic Aristoteles minor, hoc est indoctior Platone: quid [sic!] certe meri peripatetici inficiabuntur. Maior Platone Socrates et sic deinceps ad Thaletem et ultra, quod est absurdum, nec ex hoc sequitur quoscumque qui philosophati sunt ex prioribus ipsis posterioribus doctiores fuisse», *ibid.* Si veda più avanti un ulteriore chiarimento di questa posizione: «Neque ego is sum qui priscam illam antiquitatis speciem adeo venerabundus suspiciam, ut quoscumque posteriores inferiores prioribus iudicem, tantum propter mille annos. Expendenda quippe sunt authorum merita: non quo quisque vixit tempore metiendum: Alioquin Naevius Vergilio praestaret, Thales Aristoteli. Praeterire nolo Joannem Picum patrum. Qui simul omnium priscorum virtutes com omnifariae doctrinae tum eloquentiae complexus famelicis veritatis animos affluentissime pavit», *ivi*, p. 22.

¹⁰ Rimando a quanto ho scritto 'Sulla formazione del canone degli scrittori nella scuola umanistica', in *Il minore nella letteratura*, ed. E. Esposito (Ravenna, 1984), pp. 203-17.

¹¹ *De studio*, I VII, pp. 20-21.

come fattore principale di questa maturazione, e viene riconosciuta come un fattore della perfezione di Aristotele. Che l'aristotelismo abbia poi perduto l'eloquenza del maestro, non significherebbe altro se non che essa si è spostata altrove, non che la natura abbia fallito dopo aver toccato la punta massima; anzi perfino sul piano della ricerca coloro che appresero da Aristotele lo hanno superato (*plura alia invenere ipsi*). Che lo stesso Cicerone potesse essere raggiunto e superato dal suo emulo cristiano, Lattanzio, non dimostra soltanto che la natura non sia mai stanca di produrre, ma che perfino le punte ritenute massime possano esse stesse essere superate e soprattutto che l'età moderna possa contenere ed esaurire l'antica.

Sono i medesimi argomenti impiegati nella polemica condotta dal Pico contro il Bembo, e che portano necessariamente a respingere il principio di imitazione quando esso implichi la superiorità degli antichi, o postuli l'unicità del modello. Infatti in questo stesso luogo del *De studio* vengono passati in rassegna gli scrittori cristiani, fino ai contemporanei, capaci di essere confrontati con gli antichi e risultare perfino superiori. 'Molti' naturalmente («possem equidem multos quos antiquitati opponerem numerare, et afferre etiam rationes efficacissimas [...]»), perché molti sono i generi nei quali i moderni si sono distinti, né più né meno che gli antichi, ed è proprio la molteplicità dei generi l'indice della piena autonomia della latinità moderna. Fra i contemporanei Pontano (il prosatore s'intende) non ha nulla da invidiare a Cicerone, se appunto lo misuriamo con i parametri ciceroniani, che non sono gli unici, giacché ad altri piace di più lo stile di Plinio, o quello di Gellio o di Apuleio, con i quali possono ben competere autori degnissimi quali Barbaro e Poliziano.¹² Nella poesia la palma è attribuita al filone dell'umanesimo cristiano e figura in prima fila Battista Mantovano, indicato come maestro in un'epistola del 1505 a lui diretta,¹³ con l'esplicito riferimento e alla materia e alla forma:

¹² «[...] quantum ad eloquendi facultatem pertinet proxime accessisse veteribus mihi videtur Joannes Pontanus, si tamen Ciceronis mensura metiri velimus eloquentiam. Adeo enim eius characterem *aemulatus ut fere in nullo dissimilis appareat*. Sunt tamen qui Pliniano elocutionis genere magis delectentur, sunt qui mixta dicendi genere et variis exquisitisque vocabulis perscatentia. Qualia apud Gellium, Apuleium desiderent. Et haec certe munera a Politiano et Hermolao Barbaro impleta commode vel mediocriter eruditus agnoscet», ivi, p. 21.

¹³ *Opera omnia*, pp. 1360-1362. Vi sono ricordati i canoni oraziani e l'opera di censura attribuita all'arte poetica (cfr. Hor., *ars*, 304): «Tua ego poemata, quae tu censes cotis instar edita, semper admiratione digna iudicavi, cum ob multas virtutes, tum ob

Asciscamus et afferamus in medium cum multis antiquorum conferentes Baptistae Carmelitae carmina, illa, inquam, «dubiam facientia carmina palmam» [Juv., *Sat.* 11, 181]; nemo nisi indoctus non admirabitur, nemo ipsam versuum decoram maiestatem non extollet. At certe nisi stultus inficiabitur superasse eum gentiles omnes materia ea circa quam versatus est, cum sancta Christianaque opera cuderit, illi vana penitus et inania; ipsi tantum linguas instituerunt, hic praeter id et intellectum et mentem instituit, ipsi inter dulcia pocula saepius venena propinarunt, hic in ora multorum cum ipsa dulcedine arcana etiam religionis infudit.¹⁴

La superiorità dei moderni, fra i quali è possibile rintracciare scrittori perfetti nel loro genere, è concepita dunque sulla base del concetto di *aemulatio*, ma soprattutto sulla impossibilità di individuare come oggetto di imitazione autori pagani, sia pure privati delle loro falsità, o del rivestimento favoloso. La questione veniva dibattuta nella disputa epistolare fra Gianfrancesco Pico e Pietro Bembo,¹⁵ dove da parte del Pico non mancano di affacciarsi gli argomenti di fondo di carattere teologico, i quali orientano il discorso favorendo l'idea della molteplicità degli stili e della mescolanza, oltre che sostenere la prospettiva dell'avanzamento del genere umano prodottosi in seguito alla rivelazione. A parte il facile ricorso al topos della scimmia quale esempio tipico di imitazione, uno degli argomenti fondamentali del Pico in quella questione è rappresentato dal rifiuto della possibilità della perfezione assoluta nel mondo degli uomini e della natura. L'imitazione presupporrebbe questa perfezione, che è invece confutata dalla dispersione delle bellezze e delle bontà che l'esperienza ci dimostra, e presupporrebbe oltre tutto la fiducia nell'oggettiva perfezione del modello, che dallo stesso Cicerone viene disattesa quando questi presenta il suo oratore come un'idea perseguita dalla mente, più che come una figura reale da riprodurre in tutti i suoi aspetti.

L'argomentazione, riconoscibile al centro di tutti gli scontri sul ciceronianismo, da quello sostenuto da Erasmo a quelli emergenti nelle discussioni sull'arte figurativa e sul petrarchismo, faceva in effetti torto

eximium candorem et inaffectedam illam facilitatem, quam multa pene possit affectatio consequi, quorum multa memini olim me in opusculo nostro quopiam inter prima postremae adolescentia rudimenta edito laudavisse».

¹⁴ *De studio*, I VII, p. 21.

¹⁵ Le questioni di fondo della polemica sono state sunteggiate da R. Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianismo* (Torino, 1885), pp. 46-50. Per il testo delle epistole vedi *Le epistole 'De imitatione' di G. F. Pico della Mirandola e di Pietro Bembo*, a c. di G. Santangelo (Firenze, 1954). Le citazioni seguiranno questa edizione, in mancanza di un testo critico più convincente, ma non vi si atterranno per quel che riguarda la punteggiatura.

al Bembo, il quale aveva espressamente parlato di ragioni pratiche e di metodo pedagogico nell'additare un unico modello,¹⁶ riferendosi alla sua esperienza di scrittore realizzatosi solo dopo aver trovato una strada concreta da percorrere. Il diverbio, si sa, era nell'ambiguità del termine di *imitatio*, che tutti e due i contendenti concepivano come *aemulatio*, ma dando ciascuno ad *aemulatio* un senso diverso sia nell'applicazione sia negli esiti. Tutti e due del resto avevano come punto di riferimento l'idea platonica, che fosse dentro o che fosse sopra di noi, sebbene il Bembo inclinasse imprudentemente verso il concetto aristotelico della *tabula rasa* quando ricordava di sé vagante e incapace di darsi una linea di scrittura prima di aver scelto un modello.¹⁷ Eppure la scelta di un modello ottimo storicamente concreto non poteva non presupporre una meta ideale serbata nell'animo e ancora inespressa.¹⁸ Che perfino i medesimi tasselli ciceroniani, recuperati in una *compositio* diversa, diano un'immagine nuova, lo pensavano entrambi, ma il Pico si serviva dell'argomento per sfatare l'idea che ricalcando Cicerone ci si possa mai dire in tutto ciceroniani, il Bembo per mostrare come il 'ciceroniano' venuto fuori da questa operazione imitativa non debba essere considerato una scimmia, ma un figlio simile al padre, e quindi nobile quanto lui.

S'intende come aprendo la prima lettera al Bembo,¹⁹ e riferendosi alle discussioni avute con lui, Gianfrancesco Pico confessasse di non sapere

¹⁶ L'«ottimo» del resto non era concepito dal Bembo come perfezione assoluta, non perfezionabile, ma in senso relativo, fra gli scrittori esistenti di un certo genere: «An si inter illos, quicunque boni dicuntur esse, unus est omnium longe optimus longeque praestantissimus, ut, quae singula insunt in caeteris, ea universa in uno illo splendidiora etiam ornatioraque conspiciatur, eum unum multo omnium maximum atque summum recte imitati cum fuerimus, nisi illos etiam qui boni mediocriter habentur, imitabimur, nihil proficiemus?», *Le epistole 'De imitatione'*, p. 41.

¹⁷ «Ante autem, quam in iis, quas dico, cogitationibus magnopere essem versatus, inspiebam quidem in animum meum nihilo sane minus, quaerebamque, tamquam a speculo, effigiem aliquam, a qua mihi sumerem conficeremque quod volebam. Sed nulla inerat in eo effigies, nihil se mihi offerebat, nihil conspiebam», *Le epistole 'De imitatione'*, p. 42.

¹⁸ Il Pico si avvede con lucidità di questo presupposto platonico che assimila la posizione del Bembo alla sua: «Sed quid loquar Tulliana oratione? Illa ipsa in universum, qua de re tantopere loquitur Cicero, species Ideave dicendi insidet animo: quae nisi inesset, quo pacto fuisset tanto studio a multis atque ab ipso etiam autore quaesita; quod enim omnino ignoratur, quaeri omnino non potest», *Le epistole 'De imitatione'*, p. 66.

¹⁹ Sulla replica del Pico all'epistola del Bembo, stampata senza data nell'edizione delle *epistole de imitatione* curata dal Pico nel 1518, ma non inclusa dal Bembo nella sua edizione del 1530, tanto da far ipotizzare che egli non l'avesse mai effettivamente ricevuta, cfr. l'introduzione di G. Santangelo alla sua ediz. cit. nella n. 15.

se dichiararsi d'accordo o dover controbattere,²⁰ e come nella replica gli sembrasse che il Bembo tacesse sulle vere questioni da lui sollevate. Nessuno dei due contendenti sconfessava Cicerone o rinunciava a vederne rinnovata l'effigie nei suoi imitatori; tutti e due ritenevano speciose le ragioni dell'altro e ciascuno dei due s'illudeva che l'avversario, pur contraddicendosi, fosse sostanzialmente d'accordo. Una contraddizione era infatti, a parere del Bembo, quella di accettare l'imitazione di tutti i buoni autori e condannare come scimmie gli imitatori; una contraddizione era, a parere del Pico, imitare un solo autore, riproducendone lo stile, e pretendere che il risultato sia altro che un'imperfetta riproduzione. In certo qual modo il Bembo coglieva i termini del diverbio ritenendo che il Pico, respingendo l'imitazione (*imitari*) perché l'intendeva come un furto (*sumere*),²¹ credesse di superare la difficoltà, invece che approfondendo il significato della vera imitazione, vanificandola nella molteplicità dei modelli e nell'arbitrarietà della scelta, cercando cioè una soluzione che poteva bollarsi come una sorta di accattonaggio. D'altra parte il Pico non aveva torto quando ribadiva che non può esserci somiglianza quando materia e forma sono diverse, e se la somiglianza è ricercata con arte, c'è contraffazione.²²

Gianfrancesco Pico avvertiva acutamente la distanza della polemica intercorsa fra Paolo Cortesi e Poliziano e quella in corso fra il Bembo e lui, respingendo l'assimilazione che ne faceva l'avversario.²³ A quale differenza principalmente alludesse si può solo immaginare, considerando che il problema discusso alla fine del secolo precedente riguardava il comportamento dello scrittore di fronte al modello ciceroniano,

²⁰ «Utrum tibi cum antiquos imitanti scriptores, tum de imitatione mecum disserenti, assentiri an adversari deberem, nondum satis, Bembe, iudicavi», *Le epistole 'De imitatione'*, p. 24.

²¹ «Ac mihi ipse videris, cum tuas litteras lego, ita sensisse, ut utrum quis aliquem imitetur, an ab illo sumat, quod in sua scripta transferat, differre nihil duxeris», *ivi*, p. 59.

²² «Ubi enim inventio, quae quasi materia orationis est, eadem non habetur, nec forma, nec quae illam nexu inseparabili sequitur dispositio eadem prorsus habebitur, si autem similis, quoquo modo, si dissimilis, nullo pacto convenit. Quorum autem quenquam reperias, etiam si adcersas Aesopi gracculum pennis ornatum alienis: qui, quae aliorum sunt propria, eadem prorsus et impudenter cogitet expromere et impudentius disponat, et effutias impudentissime?», *ivi*, pp. 33-34.

²³ «[...] et frustra me ad Pauli Cortesii epistolam abs te fuisse relegatum; non propterea solum quod alia est inter te et me, quam inter illum et Politianum fuit controversia, sed quoniam quae Paulus conatus est, assequutum non magis illum vel aliud agens subiudicavi, quam Politianum Tullianam scribendi rationem indeptum fuisse», *ivi*, p. 63. Bembo aveva insinuato che il Poliziano respingesse l'imitazione di Cicerone perché non si sentiva capace di realizzarla (*ivi*, pp. 40-41).

e non metteva in discussione il paradigma dell'antichità, mentre il problema emerso con le obiezioni del Pico riguardava la validità stessa di questo paradigma e presupponeva il possibile capovolgimento del rapporto fra antichi e moderni. L'imitazione dell'ottimo, che era una scelta di gusto, di omogeneità, di organicità intrinseca dello stile, implicava una forma di ossequio alla tradizione pagana quantunque attenuata dall'*aemulatio*, mentre l'imitazione di tutti i buoni autori, trascurando quell'ideale di omogeneità, riconduceva l'iniziativa alla scelta dello scrittore moderno attribuendo preminenza all'*inventio*, alle cose nuove da dire e alla convenienza attuata volta per volta fra *res* e *verba*, più che in assoluto fra i *verba* all'interno di uno stile privilegiato. Non c'è dubbio che l'attenzione del Bembo andasse alla congruità dello stile e che l'attenzione del Pico si rivolgesse invece alla validità della materia. Ciò non significa che la preoccupazione religiosa gli facesse dimenticare la problematica retorica, ma che egli anzi avvertiva nella dottrina di Dionisio e di Ermogene, che si andavano nuovamente affermando non sempre in sintonia col ciceronianismo, la possibilità di allontanare il feticismo ciceroniano, quando nemmeno Iddio va imitato, e di giustificare la mescolanza delle forme stilistiche:

[...] quibus de rebus apud probatos auctores cum alios, tum maxime Dionysium et Hermogenem praecepta dantur, ad unam haec omnia quam in mente gerimus ideam referenda sunt; et habenda est in consilio ratio, mixtioque paranda talis, ut una ex omnibus quae nulla sit illarum, sed perfectissima tamen illa quidem quoad fieri possit et confletur et coalescat oratio; tantum abest ut quispiam unus usquequaque sit imitandus, quasi ille Deo praestaret Opt. Max., qui nobis usquequaque imitandus non proponitur; neque enim potentiam eius possumus, nec sapientiam aut debemus, aut possumus omnino imitari.²⁴

Nel *De studio divinae et humanae philosophiae* il Pico aveva mostrato una certa propensione verso lo stile misto del Poliziano e del Barbaro, che è poi quello da lui stesso seguito, ma riservando ad esso un posto fra gli altri; nel medesimo tempo aveva esaltato la poesia cristiana del Mantovano, sulla scia della quale componeva i suoi carmi devoti, considerandola emula dell'antica ma senza impegnarsi nella determinazione di un modello privilegiato, ad esempio sul fondamento del sublime biblico, come ci aspetteremmo. Aveva anzi indicato la grandezza di Giovanni Pico nell'uso di molteplici stili a seconda degli argomenti e dei generi trattati, recuperando quasi il pregio del sommo oratore

²⁴ Ivi, p. 37.

ciceroniano e mettendo in evidenza sulle orme stesse dello zio lo stile biblico dell'*Heptaplus*, senza tuttavia penetrarne il carattere sublime che Giovanni Pico aveva lucidamente disegnato,²⁵ o additarlo all'imitazione. Agiva forse in lui il medesimo scrupolo per il quale aveva considerato inopportuno imitare Cicerone. L'obiettivo principale rimaneva quello di ribaltare la prospettiva umanistica che assegnava la palma della scrittura all'antichità pagana, e di combattere il ciceronianismo che ne era la più genuina espressione. Perciò il trattato si concludeva, più che con una delineazione del nuovo scrittore cristiano corroborato dalla cultura classica, con la difesa dell'esaustiva funzione delle lettere sacre, sulla cui validità retorica gli umanisti avevano prevalentemente espresso le loro perplessità. La difesa consisteva principalmente nel mostrare come le lettere sacre fossero anteriori alle *humanae litterae*, fossero ovviamente sempre utili e giuste, ma soprattutto non avessero nulla da invidiare alla gamma dei generi fondamentali della letteratura classica, la storia, la poesia, la trattatistica morale.²⁶ Alle *humanae litterae* viene riservato invece il topos ormai di moda, anche in ambiente schiettamente umanistico, della miseria del letterato,²⁷ accresciuta dall'incubo dei detrattori, delle controversie, della dimenticanza cui è soggetta ogni opera umana e su cui si arena il classico mito della gloria.

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²⁵ «Haec est idea, hoc est exemplar absolutissimi scriptoris, non ob id solum quia huiuscemodi scribendi genus, ut supra demonstravimus, naturam effigiat et aemuletur, quam quod, sicut inter mentes angelicas, auctore Dionysio et divo Toma, splendore nostrae theologiae, illa est suprema quae paucissimis ea notionibus et formis per intelligentiam comprehendit, quae inferiores variis et multiplicibus, ita inter scripturas illa est summa, illa apicem tenet omnis perfectionis, quae paucissimis verbis omnia veluti singula et congrue et profunde complectitur», *Heptaplus*, in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno e scritti vari*, ed. E. Garin (Firenze, 1942), pp. 222-224. Il passo fa riferimento ad un luogo precedente, nel quale appunto si diceva che Mosè non si era allontanato dalla natura, seguendola come un modello: «[...] conabimur tum in sequentibus re comprobare Prophetam nostrum ab illa nihil quasi archetypo decidisse», *Heptaplus*, p. 182.

²⁶ *De studio*, II II, p. 28.

²⁷ *De studio*, II II, p. 35.

Fred J. NICHOLS

GREEK POETS OF EXILE IN NAPLES:
MARULLUS AND RHALLUS

An interesting aspect of the revival of Latin as a living literary language in Naples in the Renaissance is that two of the poets who associated themselves with this movement were Greeks. What is particularly noteworthy is that although they spent only some part of their lives in Naples, it was as Neapolitan poets in Latin that they wished to be identified. These poets are Michael Marullus and Manilius Rhallus, each of whom spent a period of time in Naples in the fifteenth century. Marullus still enjoys a certain fame and this study will focus on him, but I will also deal briefly with his friend Manilius Rhallus, whose poetry has been very little studied, no doubt because the only printed edition of it survives in only a few copies, although his poetry was greatly appreciated in its own time.¹

Michael Marullus tells us that he was still in his mother's womb when his native city of Constantinople fell to the Turks.² Since that event happened in May of 1453, he is usually thought to have been born later in that year. Another poem expresses his gratitude to the city-republic of Ragusa (now Dubrovnik in Croatia) for sheltering him and providing him with an education as a boy. His family later found its way to Italy, but at the age of seventeen he was obliged by financial need to become

¹ Antonio Altamura notes that the only surviving copies of Rhallus' poetry are the two in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples in his *L'umanesimo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Florence, 1941), p. 136, n. 2. However, there is also a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

² The fundamental study of Marullus' life and work is Benedetto Croce, *Michele Marullo Tarcaniota* (Bari, 1938), reprinted in a somewhat reduced form in his *Poeti e scrittori del pieno e del tardo Rinascimento* (Bari, 1958), II, 269-380. An extremely detailed recent biography, rather romanticized, is that of Carol Kidwell, *Marullus: Soldier Poet of the Renaissance* (London, 1989). A different view of the circumstances of the poet's birth is given by M. J. McCann, '1453 and all that: The End of the Byzantine Empire in the Poetry of Michael Marullus', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (Binghamton, 1986), pp. 145-51. On the *Hymni naturales* see now Walther Ludwig, *Antike Götter und Christliche Glaube: Die Hymni naturales von Marullo* (Hamburg, 1992), and the new edition and French translation by J. Chomarat, *Hymnes Naturels, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 296 (Genève, 1995).

a mercenary soldier and he spent some time fighting in and around what is now the Republic of Moldavia. He was to support himself as a professional soldier for the rest of his life.

In about 1470 he moved to the Court of the Kingdom of Naples and its brilliant literary circle headed by the accomplished Latin poet and influential political figure Giovanni Pontano. He regarded himself as Pontano's poetic disciple and joined a circle of literary friends to whom he remained attached even when it became expedient for him to leave Naples later in the 1480's. After a revolt of the leading nobles of the Kingdom of Naples against the king, Marullus' patrons were among those who were executed or exiled, and at the end of the decade the poet was living in poverty in Rome. By 1490 however he was settled in Florence, enjoying the patronage of a branch of the Medici family, the sons of Pier Francesco de' Medici. Within a few years Marullus travelled to France to join the expedition of King Charles VIII into Italy in 1494. We have a poem in which the poet implores the king to go on to liberate Greece from the Turks.³

After all his hazardous military service, he died accidentally in the year 1500, while crossing the flooded river Cecina outside of Volterra, drowned when his horse fell and pinned him down in the water. When his body was retrieved, in a pocket of his cloak was found the copy of his text of Lucretius, whose first editor he was.⁴ His death was widely mourned for he had already acquired a reputation as a poet. In fact the first printed edition of some of his poetry, the first two books of epigrams, had appeared at Rome in 1489. Other works were published in his lifetime and into the sixteenth century. Alessandro Perosa's standard edition of his *Carmina* consists of four books of epigrams, the four books of the *Hymni* — the hymns to pagan deities which were regarded then and now as his most remarkable poetic achievement —, a book of *Naeniae*, and other miscellaneous material including an unfinished fragment of a long poem on that favorite Renaissance theme, the education of the prince.⁵

Marullus most centrally constructs his poetic *persona* for the reader in a poetic text which although called an epigram in the printed edition of

³ Epigram IV, 32, "Ad Carolum Regem Franciae."

⁴ His notes on Lucretius were incorporated into the edition of Pietro Candido, published at Florence in 1512. See Kidwell, p. 255.

⁵ Quotations from Marullus are taken from Perosa's edition, *Michaelis Marulli Carmina* (Zürich, 1951).

his poetry (but an epigram of one hundred eighty-two lines!) is actually a verse epistle. It is in fact a proposal of marriage to the unidentified woman who is the main although not exclusive focus of his love poetry. Adopting a name from Roman poetry, but a name with a Greek resonance, he calls her Neaera. For whatever reason she is not present, although the poet wishes she were, so the written word must mediate between them in place of the spoken word:

Haec mandata tibi mitto, formosa Neaera,
 Quae cuperem praesens aptius ipse loqui;
 Sed tamen interea dum mens assuescit amanti
 Et fiunt iusta mollia corda prece,
 Candida signatis peraratur littera verbis
 Et peragit nostras conscia charta vices. (p. 42, ll. 1-6)

(I send these things to you, lovely Neaera, which I'd wish more fittingly to speak to you in person; but yet in the meantime while the mind has grown accustomed to its lover, and hearts have been softened by a true plea, the white page traversed by the words marked on it and the conscious leaf describe our fortunes.)

This is very self-conscious writing, writing that is not only conscious of its substituting for physical absence, but which insistently draws our attention to its own status as physical object, the physical object which will link the poet and the absent other. And the poet goes on to insist that Neaera read this text carefully: "Perlege", he tells her not once but twice, "read this text through."

Later in the poem, the poet describes the course of his life up to the moment of his falling in love:

Vix bene adhuc fuero matris rude semen in alvo,
 Cum grave servitium patria victa subit.
 Ipse pater, Dymae regnis eiectus avitis,
 Cogitur Iliadae quaerere tecta Remi.... (p. 44, ll. 65-68)

(I was scarcely yet an unformed seed in my mother's womb, when my conquered country went down under heavy servitude. My father himself, driven out of his ancestral domain of Dyme, was forced to seek out the home of Remus, the son of Ilia.)

In these words, *with* these words, the *persona* who speaks to us in the collection of Marullus' poetry constitutes himself: the exile permanently displaced from a homeland which is forever lost, the exile early committed to literary pursuits but who is obliged, also early in his life, to take up the sword and to serve as a soldier, a figure deprived of all the

members of his family by death, dislocated in space and also, as we shall see, in the very language he uses to create this image of himself.

Other poems fill out this picture. The poem in praise of the city of Ragusa explains how it sheltered him when he was still a boy:

Amica quondam dulcis, ubi puer

Primas querelas et miseri exili

Lamenta de tristi profudi

Pectore non inimicus hospes.... (pp. 89-90, ll. 1-12)

(You friend, once sweet to me when as a boy I poured out my first complaints and laments over wretched exile from an unhappy heart, a not unfriendly host.)

Here is a voice which from the beginning has created itself by its own outpourings of grief. The lost family context is also shaped by a series of poems scattered throughout the epigrams dealing with the deaths of the members of Marullus' family: his brother, his father and two uncles, all of whom died fighting the Turks, and his mother, her life darkened by the loss and enslavement of her country and the deaths of her brothers and her own father. These poems are clearly related to the texts gathered in the collection entitled *De Tumulis* ("Of Tombs") by Marullus' friend and mentor in Naples, Giovanni Pontano, but there is a critical difference in emphasis. Whereas Pontano's words bring the dead back to us, the funeral texts of Marullus emphasize the irrevocability of their loss.

Less severe is the poetry of Marullus' friend Manilius Rhallus, who was born about 1440 and died after 1521.⁶ He was a native of Sparta who settled in Rome where he was perhaps a member of Pomponio Leto's academy and where in 1475 he published the first Renaissance edition of the ancient Roman grammarian Festus. It is interesting however, and a testimony to the prestige of the Neapolitan school of Latin poetry in his time, that it was with Naples that he wished to be identified as a poet. In 1520 he published at Naples his *Juveniles Ingenii Lusus* with an important introductory letter. It is dedicated to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the cousin of Pope Leo X, then serving as vice-chancellor of the Holy See and subsequently himself to become pope as Clement VII. Despite this connection with the Florentine Medici, and the fact

⁶ The chief modern source for information about Rhallus is Altamura, *L'umanesimo*, pp. 134-36. See also the *Antologia poetica di umanisti meridionali*, edited by Altamura with F. Sbordone and E. Servidio (Naples, 1975), pp. 147-50, which includes texts of three poems with Italian translations. See also my article, 'The Exile's Grief: Manilius Rhallus', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 2 (1993), 123-40.

— which the introduction stresses — that Rhallus has lived in Rome for fifty-six years, he aligns himself here with the poetic school of Pontano. Rhallus spent only five years in Naples, from 1492 to 1497, which makes his insistence on his association with Naples all the more striking. He tells us that Pontano had described his style as “pressum” and “floridum” (“compressed” and “flowery”) and in his late reworking of poems he had written in his youth Rhallus has tried not to depart from these qualities. He must leave the result to the judgement of others for Pontano and Marullus are gone: “Pontano etenim Ioviano et M. Marullo ipsius discipulo in poesi et Oratoria primariis, ac secretioris doctrinae viris morte sublati” (since Giovanni Pontano and his disciple M. Marullus, foremost in poetry and oratory, and men of uncommon learning, have been carried off by death).⁷ It is by the standards of poets such as these that he wishes his own work to be judged.

Pontano had addressed a hendecasyllabic poem to Rhallus, a graceful and playful text in which the three Graces and four other attendants of Venus are described as having dipped into a Cyprian fluid the pen with which Rhallus wrote his love poetry in praise of his beloved Lycinna.⁸ Rhallus returns the compliment by addressing an elegy to Pontano, which he begins by referring to Pontano’s role in stimulating his own poetry:

Quid me fortunae prostratum vulnere saevae
Ad tripodas phoebe pieridesque vocas? (Ci’)

(why do you call me, overwhelmed by the wound of savage fortune, to the tripod of Apollo and to the Muses?)

There is nothing left of him, he goes on to say, but a shade:

Umbra ego sum / similisque mei si queris imago
Exstructis superest sola relictis rogis.... (Cii’)

(I am a shade, and if you seek an image that’s like me, the only one left is on a heaped-up funeral pyre.)

On a figurative level Pontano’s call stirs up a voice from one who is dead. Rhallus calls then on the verses themselves to come to him, so that he can express his grief at the loss of his country:

⁷ *Manilii Cabacii Ralli Juveniles Ingenii Lusus* (Naples, Pasquet de Sallo, 1520), sig. +iii’. All citations from Rhallus are taken from this edition. I’m indebted to Rodger Friedman for providing me with a photocopy of one of the copies in Naples.

⁸ In his *Hendecasyllabi* II, 24. See the edition of Pontano’s *Carmina* edited by Johannes Oeschger (Bari, 1948), pp. 327-29.

Vos dulces elegi, precor, o succurrite moesto
Et mihi nunc flenti, flebile carmen, ades.... (Cii^r)

(O you sweet elegies, I beg, help one who is sorrowing, and, mournful song, now come to me weeping.)

His master's call, together with the poetic form he is using, are what have enabled him to sing of the loss of his country and the grief that loss has caused. Pontano, who enjoys his native land and home, can sing of the things in the heavens in his *Urania*, while Rhallus wants finally to be left alone to hide himself "putri situ" ("in moldering inactivity") and the text seems at the end to fall back into that silence which Pontano had stirred it out of.

Yet this is a low point in Rhallus' poetry. As in the case of his friend Marullus, poetry could at times be a consolation for exile, and so could the realm of sensual pleasure evoked by love poetry. Here again we are dealing with a *persona* which is almost entirely a construction of the poetic texts themselves. The function of poetry as a response to exile can be seen in a different light in the second elegy in Rhallus' collection, "De exilio et in eum cui primus servivit" (On his exile and to him whom he first served). Here the poet dwells at length on his advanced age: in 1520 when the volume was published he was past seventy. Even if he were to be made young again, the loss of his country would prevent it from being a consolation. What then can one do whom fortune has deprived of a home? Even wealth — jewelry, gold and meals served on tables made of rare and precious wood — is no consolation,

Sed quo pierio liber mox redderet antro /
Nec ieiuna suum musa recuset onus:
Posset et auratos crines laudare licinnae:
Et satura argutum condere amoris opus (Bi^r)

(But that Bacchus might return us to this cave of the Muses, nor would a starved Muse refuse her burden, but well-fed she could praise the golden hair of Lycinna and compose the melodious work of love.)

This, the poet concludes, was his occupation ("militia") in youth, and with this occupation he hopes the Fates will allow him to grow old. One should note that it is a very textualised love which is the poet's pursuit here. It is not the practice of love itself, but rather the creation of texts about it which is a source of pleasure in the exile's old age. Like Marullus in his love poetry, he sees a value in inserting himself into the rhythm of nature. The creation of love poetry, which can as

well be practiced by an old man as by a young one, is one activity which transcends that aspect of time represented by the aging process.

The judgment Altamura made about Rhallus seems unduly harsh, "Un sentimento quasi sempre superficiale e insincero, fatto di sensi più che di cuore...."⁹ If not a poet of great range and profundity, he composed a body of elegant and refined verse which at times touches on something deeper, especially when he is responding to his own exile. His work would repay closer attention.

The exile of Marullus is a harsher one than that of Rhallus because he conceives of himself as a double exile, from a country as a Greek in Italy, and from a language, as a Greek writing in Latin. It is symptomatic that the only texts by him which we have in any vernacular language are one or two short poems in Italian.¹⁰ His long epistle to Neaera explains why she should not be ashamed to have a Greek husband. It was Greece, he goes on to say, which first civilized men, and Rome herself had Greek forbears:

Ipsa caput rerum quondam pulcherrima Roma —
Certa fides — Graiis condita gaudet avis. (p. 46, ll. 120-21)

(Most lovely Rome, once herself the head of things — the belief
is certain — rejoices in being founded by Greek ancestors.)

The relationship between Greece and Rome is complex in Marullus' poetry, since his native city Constantinople had preserved until just now what was left of the Roman empire and he himself, later in this same text, can boast of having Roman ancestors of the Marullus clan. His last name is a Roman name. Yet his country is now a corpse:

Quam te cadaver flebile aspicio miser,
Vix ipse adhuc credens mihi¹¹
Oculis videre coelitum tantum nefas! (p. 53, ll. 5-8)

(How wretchedly I look upon you, mournful corpse, myself scarcely yet believing that I see with my own eyes so great a wrong of the gods above!)

It is perhaps hard for us now to appreciate how final the fall of Constantinople must have seemed at the time, apparently entailing the end of the

⁹ In the *Antologia*, p. 147.

¹⁰ A *strambotto* and another poem of doubtful attribution, given by Perosa, pp. 217-18.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that these verses are a negative remake of Catullus, 31, 4-6: (Sirmio), quam te libenter quamque laetus in viso,
vix mi ipse credens Thuniam atque Bithunos
liquisse campos et videre te in tuto.

Greeks and the obliteration of the physical remains of Greek culture. Some of the dark tone of Marullus' poetic world is the result of such a perception. Yet what will survive is glory: "Solaque de tanta gloria gente manet" (Only the glory remains of so great a people; p. 21, l. 34). This glory will be preserved in words, or as we might now say, by texts:

Sic tua longinquum late diffusa per aevum
 Nomina per gentes fama loquetur anus,
 Certatimque canent docti tua gesta poetae
 Factaque erunt populis dictaque nota tua.... (p. 21, ll. 37-40)

(So aged fame will speak your name widely spread for lasting ages throughout the nations, and learned poets will eagerly sing your deeds, and what you have done and said will be known to the races of men.)

But Marullus' contribution to this making of texts in which the accomplishments of Greek culture will live will not be in the Greek language. The Hymn to the god Mercury several times reminds us of this fact. At the beginning the poet describes himself, after centuries of silence, singing in the Orphic mode in the valley of the Arno in Tuscany:

Hoc fatis etiam malignis,
 Patria ut Graecus sacra non Pelasga
 Voce referrem...

(In this too the fates are malignant, that I a Greek, recount the holy things of my country in a speech that is not Greek: p. 133, ll. 2-4).

Later in the poem, the singer returns to the idea:

Interim, si non patriae beata
 Voce, qua grato licitum cadente
 Te canam Phoebos, tibi substrepemus
 Syderis ortus. (p. 134, ll. 21-24)

(Meanwhile, if not with the blessed voice of our country, with which rightfully I'd sing of you while welcome Apollo is setting, we will faintly murmur to you at the rising of the stars.)

The imagery is suggestive. This sunset song is being sung at the time when Phoebus, the sun god and also the god of poetry, is waning, to be replaced by a lesser light. So the glory of Mercury will be celebrated here not in Greek but in Latin.

The idea of the loss of the language and what that loss entails is expressed again in the Hymn to Aether, the personification of the upper air:

Nam quo Pelasgi gloria sanguinis,
Si non futuri gens quoque temporis
Agnoscit auditor et ipsa

Voce probat sibi teste Graios? (p. 148, ll. 17-20)

(For where will the glory of Greek blood go, if the people of future time don't also acknowledge and approve the Greeks they have heard, in their own speech with themselves as witnesses?)

The experience of this poet-*persona* then is organized around a double absence, the absence of a native land and the absence of a native language.

There is the terrible fear that the language itself may be finally lost, expressed most forcefully in the Hymn to the Sun, which darkened itself out of sympathy over the unhappy fate of the Greeks:

Quod si non regisque mei natique benigna
Cura sit, ipsa ruat divinae gratia linguae,
Ipsae artes tantoque virum sacrata labore
Nomina Lethaeis abeant immersa lacunis.

(p. 144, ll. 271-74)

(But if it were not the kindly concern of my king and his son, the very charm of the godly language would fall away, and the arts themselves and the names consecrated by such great labors of men would vanish sunk into the pits of Lethe.)

Yet his royal patrons are concerned, the poet goes on to say, to collect the records of Greek culture, to preserve the distinction and the genius of such great men and this is to be accomplished by saving the writings in which these things are preserved, "*Scriptaque divinas animi testantia curas*" (the writings which bear witness to the godlike concerns of the mind; p. 144, l. 278). What is left of Byzantium now, what remains of Greek glory, are texts in which the Greek spirit and mind are preserved. Some of this feeling was no doubt shared by fifteenth-century humanism striving to acquire Greek manuscripts, but for Marullus such feeling has an intensely personal element. The profoundest sign of his status as an exile is the fact that he is writing in Latin rather than in Greek.

One could see the *Hymni naturales* as an attempt to recreate a central aspect of Greek culture in Latin. The passage in the hymn to Mercury I've already alluded to, "*Quique tot saeculis tripodas silentes / Primus Orpheo pede rite movi*" (And I who in so many centuries have been the first to move the silent tripod rightly with the tread of Orpheus; p. 133, ll. 5-6), suggests such a project. It has been centuries since a Greek has sung hymns to the pagan gods, and Marullus is consciously reviving the tradition. One is reminded of the moment towards the beginning of

Dante's *Divine Comedy* when Dante encounters the long silent voice of Virgil, and Dante, as we shall see, is a poet whom Marullus has a special interest in.¹²

Marullus insistently makes the point, however, that the gods are indifferent to human virtue and accomplishment. Byzantium did nothing to merit its downfall. The sight of his country's corpse, as we've seen, is described by the poet as a wrong of the gods above. The point is most decisively stated in lines consoling a friend, Andrea Maria Acquaviva, for the death of his father, also killed by the Turks:

Sed neque fas neque iura deos mortalia tangunt,
Et rapit arbitrio sors fera cuncta suo. (p. 21, ll. 27-28)

(But neither right nor the laws of mortals touch the gods, and savage destiny snatches everything away of its own free will.)

The universe is governed by amoral forces, and the workings of fate cannot be understood in terms of any moral pattern.

This is significant for it is fate which has made Marullus an exile, an isolated figure defined by absences. He repeatedly makes the point that it would have been better if he had perished along with this country, and he envies those who have enjoyed the privilege of dying such a death. To wish to survive is perverse:

Sed quis est ita perditus,
Unus qui Patriae et civibus optimis
Dedignetur idem pati
Communemque deum non ferat aequiter? (p. 170, ll. 39-42)

(But who is so abandoned that he, one man, would disdain enduring the same as his country and the best of his fellow citizens, and would not endure according to his share the common god?)

In this poem, which is entitled *De Acerbitate Fortunae* (On the Harshness of Fortune), the poet laments the fate which both robs a friend of a young son and himself of a country.

If these texts are so often focused on absences, what consolations do they offer to compensate for those absences? There are certain poems in which the poet seems not to have altogether abandoned the hope of seeing his native country free again. In an epigram addressed to King Charles VIII, Marullus urges him to descend into Italy with the eventual aim of freeing Greece from the Turks, just as the Hymn to Mars concludes

¹² *Inferno*, I, 62-63.

with the hope that the god, who has favored the arms of the Turks, will one day be moved by prayer and give his country a better and unexpected fate. But such glimmers of optimism are infrequent. A poem in the later collection called *Naeniae* complains to King Charles that he is wasting time hunting wild animals in the forests while the political and military situation is worsening. The liberation of Greece seems on the whole unlikely. Its future existence will have to depend on the texts that have survived its fall.

In the absence of his country, all the earth is the same for the exile. One place is as good as another, and the poet's wanderings through the Balkans and Italy are a symptom of this. Unable to be in the one place which would be a fullness to him, the exile has no reason to stay in one spot very long, although if we wish to read biographical details into the texts there was usually a practical reason for Marullus' wanderings. But the *persona* who speaks in these poems seems essentially restless. He takes note of his surroundings but they do not fill the emptiness left by the fall of Byzantium. In the epitaph he composed for one of his maternal uncles, Paul Tarchaniota, he observes,

Una eadem terra est, quam cernis, ubique locorum,
Nec magis Elysium hinc aut minus inde viae.... (p. 97, ll. 3-4)

(The earth which you see is one and the same in any place whatever, nor are the roads to Elysium longer here or shorter there.)

In his proposal to Neaera he tells her that she shouldn't be afraid of marrying an exile:

Nec te terruerit peregrini nomen inane:
Crede mihi, nulla est terra aliena viro (p. 46, ll. 123-24)

(Nor should the empty name of foreigner frighten you: believe me, no land is alien to a man.)

It is significant, and unusual for a Neo-Latin poet, that Marullus has an epigram on Dante, dwelling as one might expect on the fact that the reward Florence bestowed on him for his accomplishments was exile. The poem concludes with a further refinement on the idea: "Quamvis, cui virtus contigit, et patria est" (Although for him who has achieved virtue, that is his country; p. 60, l. 10). And in a poem addressed to a Sienese friend, Francesco Nini, the poet observes, "Quicquam ubique viris patria est..." (Any place anywhere is a country to men; p. 35, l. 21). The absence of his original homeland is not one that any other place can compensate for.

Yet there is another side to Marullus' poetry. Counterpointing the grim stoic acceptance of one's fate is a certain acceptance of life's basic pleasures. A striking expression of this is an ode addressed to Rhallus. The poem is in Sapphic stanzas, not coincidentally a form frequently used by Horace. The text, strategically located at the end of the first book of epigrams, situates itself at the beginning of May and describes the dances of young men and women to celebrate the season. Cupid flies about the gathering of young people, prepared to use his arrows to enkindle the flames of passion. In this context, fluently and gracefully presented by the verse, the *persona* commands,

Mitte vaesanos, bone Rhalle, questus:

Iam sat indultum patriae ruinae est:

Nunc vocat lusus positisque curis

Blanda voluptas.

(p. 29, ll. 21-24)

(Put aside, good Rhallus, your mad complaints: we've been occupied long enough now with the fall of our country. Now play and sweet pleasure are calling, with cares put aside.)

What is the point, the poet goes on to ask, of spending all of the brief time we have in grieving over our sad fates? And the poem ends with a call for a bottle of vintage wine.

The ideas underlying the attitudes of Marullus and Rhallus are worked out by Marullus in the epigram we've already noted addressed to Francesco Nini. Here we see that it is in fact a stoic indifference to the blows of fate that underlies this acceptance of life's more basic pleasures. The poem begins with an address to Nini:

Quid mirare unos non uno tempore vultus,

Nec mea tam multis pectora victa malis?

(p. 35, ll. 1-2)

(Why are you marvelling that I have the same expression at quite different moments, and my heart has not been conquered by my many evils?)

The rhetorical question sets up the idea of constancy in the midst of shifting fortunes:

Turpe est arbitrio rerum, Francisce, moveri

Atque animum dominae supposuisse rotas

Exiliique malis rationem perdere vitae

Et sinere incertis certa perire bona.

(p. 35, ll. 3-6)

(It's shameful to be moved by the power of events, Francesco, and to have submitted your spirit to the wheel of a mistress, and to lose a reason for living because of the evils of exile and to allow good things that are certain to perish because of uncertain things.)

The mistress whose wheel is dismissed here is obviously Fortune and what the poet is arguing for is the acceptance of compensations for loss, compensations that these texts in some sense provide.

Marullus notes that he is neither the first nor the only one to suffer such things. In a double intertextual reference he cites Aeneas and Teucer as examples of those fleeing from their homeland who accepted such pleasures:

Et tamen in media vixit uterque fuga,
Nec puduit nimio linguae movisse Lyaeo
Et madidam sertis implicuisse comam. (p. 35, ll. 12-14)

(and yet each one was alive in the middle of his flight, and wasn't ashamed to have touched his tongue to an abundance of wine, and to have wrapped his anointed hair in a wreath.)

Those lines are an echo, as Perosa has noted,¹³ of a passage in the seventh ode of Horace's first book of odes:

Teucer Salamina patremque
cum fugeret, tamen uda Lyaeo
tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona...¹⁴

(Teucer, when he was fleeing Salamis and his father, yet is said to have surrounded his wet temples with a crown of poplar.)

The reference to the exiled Aeneas of course recalls Virgil, but Teucer, driven from his native Salamis by his father because he did not come back with his brother Ajax alive, is also mentioned in Virgil's *Aeneid* (I, 619). The poet's predicament thus recalls those of ancient heroes, celebrated by Virgil and Horace, a tradition into which he now inserts himself. The meter however provides a certain ironic distance, since this poem of Marullus is in elegiac couplets, a meter associated neither with Virgil nor with Horace, but rather with Ovid, whose exile was much less heroic. The slight displacement suggested by the use of a meter not associated with the subject underlines the poet's presumption in comparing his small fate with such important fates, after he has gone on to recall further examples of exile such as those of Marius and Hannibal:

Nos quoque, si magnis fas est componere parva,
Omnia quis placida mente tulisse vetat?¹⁵
Si lacrimis redimi posset, si patria questu,
Argueret, si non illa redempta foret.... (p. 36, ll. 37-40)

¹³ Perosa, p. 259, s.v. Teucer.

¹⁴ Text from Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. Charles E. Bennett (Boston, 1957), p. 8, ll. 21-23.

¹⁵ V. 37 is an echo of Verg. *georg.* 4, 176; v. 38 reminds us of Ov. *trist.* 1, 2, 11-12.

(If it is right to oppose small things to great ones, who forbids us to have endured everything with a mind at rest? If our country could be set free by tears, by complaints, I would be blamed if she had not been set free.)

But this is not the case, the tears and complaints which these texts embody cannot free the lost homeland. Again at the end of the poem the serving boy is commanded to scatter flowers and to pour some good wine. Pleasure cannot restore; it can at times compensate.

The theme of exile even enters into another kind of poetry in which Marullus was an important, if not obvious, influence on the later Renaissance, his love poetry. The poet addressed more or less playful epigrams to a number of women, including the woman he eventually did marry, Alessandra Scala, the learned and beautiful daughter of the Florentine public figure and humanist Bartolomeo Scala. (Interestingly enough, she is apparently the only woman he addressed love poems to by her real name.) But by far the greatest number of love poems are written to and about the elusive Neaera, to whom, as we've seen, Marullus even proposes marriage in a lengthy epigram. He praises her beauty and her virtue, and complains strenuously over her slighting of his affections. The very last poem of the *Epigrams*, a collection the poet concludes by rejecting love for arms, refers to her death and still praises her beauty and virtues "...ipsam Neaeram specimen humanae unicum / Naturae et exactum decus" (Neaera herself the unique example and perfected glory of human nature; p. 102, ll. 58-59).

By choosing the obscure classical name Neaera for the object of his affections and by his adaptation of the meters and certain poetic strategies of Catullus, Marullus helped to establish a central tradition in Neo-Latin love poetry, reinforced by the use made of the name Neaera and of the poetic rhetoric Marullus had worked out by the Dutch Neo-Latin poet Johannes Secundus in the early sixteenth century. The development and spread of this tradition in Renaissance Latin has finally been traced in detail by Walther Ludwig in the article "Catullus renatus" in his recent book *Litterae neolatinae*.¹⁶ It affected most Latin and much vernacular love poetry in Europe down to the end of the seventeenth century, including such diverse figures as the Scottish humanist and historian George Buchanan, Joachim Du Bellay in France, and even John Milton.

In one of his poems of complaint to Neaera, the unhappy poet tells her, "Certe tu mea cura, tu voluptas, / Per te non grave erat domo carere"

¹⁶ Walther Ludwig, *Litterae neolatinae* (Munich, 1989), pp. 162-94.

(You are surely my concern and my delight; because of you it was not hard to be without a home; p. 66, ll. 5-6). Recall that at the beginning of this paper, we saw that it is precisely in his proposal to her, which is both epistle and epigram, that Marullus most fully constructs the *persona* who speaks throughout his poetry. There too the insistence on this *persona*'s identity as an exile suggests that the ultimate consolation for the loss of his homeland, for the reestablishment of the equilibrium that loss had unbalanced, would be his possession of Neaera herself. It is striking that in the poem in which he describes what has been lost as *domus* ("home") rather than as *patria* ("country"), the term he generally uses. The proposal epigram has an intentionality which reaches beyond the world of the text, just as these texts are a response to an event, a loss, prior to them, and so the poem has a central importance in the dynamics of this poetic system. The loss of Neaera, first in her rejection of him and finally in her death, is an especially grievous one for, in the home she could have provided for him, she is his best hope for filling with her presence the central absence of the loss of his homeland. So the absence remains unfilled and the poet at this point abjures love for war. It is curious that none of this strategy enters into the two elegant but much less weighty poems Marullus addressed to the woman he did marry. Nor is there anything comparable in Rhallus' poems to his beloved Lycinna.

One other consolation takes the place of his lost homeland for Marullus. This is the presence of the circles of friends he made in Naples, Rome, and Florence. Although at times he gives us an impression of himself as an isolated and lonely figure, the epigrams in particular are full of poems which give some sense of the numbers of friendships he enjoyed, as he writes poems to encourage, to congratulate, to give advice, and to offer consolation to his friends for their own losses. Yet because there would always come a time when he would be obliged to move on, the pattern of another absence replacing a presence is repeated. Marullus sees this kind of loss as another sort of exile. One of his most admired poems is his Hymn to the Moon, which takes place before dawn as he is leaving Florence, presumably to join the King of France at Lyons. The poem is in the form of a dialogue between himself and his servant as they move out of the city into the hills in the moonlight. The poem begins with a backward look at Florence, to which he bids a final farewell, and he then expresses his regret at leaving his friends behind:

O fida quondam tot cohors sodalium,
 Duri levamen exili,
 Ego ne, relictis, heu miser, vobis, queam
 Exilia perpeti altera?
 Sed fati acerba vis ferenda fortiter! (p. 145, ll. 9-13)

(O once faithful band of so many friends, consolation of my harsh exile, can I, leaving you behind, wretched alas, endure another exile? But the bitter strength of fate must be borne valiantly.)

Thus Marullus is propelled by a process in which each time a presence compensates for the basic absence which defines him, that new presence then is lost as the poet moves on. It is striking how many of his key poems situate themselves at moments of departure.

We might now consider Marullus in the broader context of the currents of exile in European Renaissance poetry. In the Italy which became not just his physical home, but also his literary home, there was of course already a well established literary tradition of exile, beginning with Dante and carried on by Petrarch. It is the Petrarchan tradition that is the more useful to the later Renaissance, becoming intertwined, especially in terms of Latin verse, with the tradition of Ovidian exile poetry as expressed in Ovid's *Tristia* and his *Ex Ponto*. It is this Petrarchan-Ovidian vein that comes most naturally to any later Neo-Latin poet who happens to be away from his home for any reason. One thinks of George Buchanan writing Latin elegies while in Portugal, lamenting his exile from his beloved Paris. This current exists in the vernacular as well. The first Petrarchan sonnet sequence which focuses on a theme other than unrequited love is Joachim Du Bellay's *Les Regrets*, in which the poetic *persona* laments the fact that he is in Rome and not in France.

Yet it is striking that the only vernacular writer commemorated in Marullus' work is Dante. The last lines of the poem on Dante, as we've seen, state that for the virtuous man virtue is his country, and there are other aspects of the ten-line text we might now reflect on. The poem locates itself at the tomb of Dante, presided over by the Muse Erato, and is in the form of a question posed by an interrogator who in the tradition of this kind of poem is a wayfarer passing by the tomb. One noteworthy point is that the other poem in Marullus' collection which most nearly resembles the poem on Dante is the epitaph of the poet's mother, in which the wayfarer questions the figure of *Pudicitia* ("Modesty"), who is guarding the tomb of Euphrosyne Tarchaniota. The model for both these poems is an epigram in the Greek Anthology (XVI, 275) which the

poet's mentor Giovanni Pontano was also to use as the model for an epigram he wrote on the subject of his own tomb.¹⁷ What Dante and the mother of Marullus have in common, a theme central to the poem on each one, is that they were driven into exile.

Here we have, I think, the essential reason why it is Dante who is more important for Marullus than Petrarch, a reason which will have implications for poetic strategies as well. The basic fact about Dante's exile is that it was involuntary and final in a way Petrarch's was not. The last questions the wayfarer puts to the Muse at Dante's tomb are these:

'Unde domo?' 'Veterem agnoscit Florentia alumnum.'

Ecquae tot merces dotibus? 'Exilium.'

(p. 60, ll. 7-8)

("What home did his journey start from?" "Florence acknowledges her former offspring." "And what was the reward for such gifts?" "Exile.")

The loss of balance here, the poet's gifts whose compensation was simply exile, expresses a loss that Marullus certainly felt was the essence of his own destiny. And although Petrarch was born into a very real exile, at a certain point in his life when Florence begged him to return, his exile became voluntary. One can see why Marullus felt a kinship with Dante he would not have felt with Petrarch.

A very useful analysis of exile in the Renaissance is that provided by A. Bartlett Giamatti in his essay 'Hippolytus among the Exiles,' where he has this to say of Petrarch's case: "Petrarch's odyssey, his endless exile, depended — as his courtship of Laura depended — on not achieving what he said he desired. His sense of identity depended on being displaced, for only in perpetual exile could Petrarch gain the necessary perspective on himself truly to determine, or create, who he was.... So Petrarch, never truly at home, always refuses to return."¹⁸ The most important exile in Petrarch's poetry, I would suggest, is in fact the separation from Laura, and the poetic strategy that Petrarch adopts to deal with his physical separation from her is to make her present in his poetry, to use language to recreate the presence of the absent beloved. This is the strategy that will be so useful to Du Bellay in his *Regrets*, where he will use his text to relocate himself in the France he too has been in voluntary exile from. Here it is the *persona* himself who is

¹⁷ In his *De Tumulis*, II, 62, the poem which completes the entire collection (*Carmina*, pp. 257-58). The original Greek epigram, attributed to Posidippus, is on a statue of Time. Versions were also written by Ausonius, Thomas More, and Erasmus.

¹⁸ A. Bartlett Giamatti, *Exile and Change in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven, 1984), p. 13.

absent, and so he creates in his text a sense of himself as being in France. The very fact of writing in French as an exile in Rome contributes to creating that sense of presence, as the language itself situates the poet where he would want to be.

This is a poetic strategy which Marullus abjures. His status as an exile is never compensated for by any kind of imaginative presence. In dealing with his lost homeland, he rather focuses relentlessly on that which is not. At times he seems to evoke, to make present, what is gone:

Est aliquid cineres et tot monumenta suorum
Cernere et imperiis imperia aucta patrum
Natalique frui, superest dum spiritus, aura,
Nec procul externis ludibrium esse locis. (p. 72, ll. 15-18)

(It is something to see the ashes and so many memorials of your people, and the realms extended by your ancestors' authority, and to enjoy your native air, as long as breath is left, and not to be a joke in far-off foreign places.)

These lines are from the central poem on his exile, "De Exilio Suo," and the evocation of the past, beginning with ashes and monuments, gives the poet a moment to catch his breath of native air, but then the tone abruptly changes. The pool is — and his very language reminds us of this — in fact situated far off in a foreign place, where he is a *ludibrium*, a figure of fun, and the poem as a whole defines the poet's condition in terms of what he is not.

So too in the second posthumously published *Naenia*, where the *persona* puts himself on the shores of the sea whose waters also wash the Bosphorus, he thinks of the breezes who are able to come home after their journey:

Felices nimium, vespere quae domo
Egressae redeunt mane Aquilonibus
Versis, nec peregre perpetuo exigunt
Aetatem exilio gravem.... (p. 173, ll. 13-16)

(Too happy are they who having set out at dusk from home return in the morning when the north winds have turned, and do not spend their weary lives abroad in unending exile.)

Again there is no consolation here: the evocation of the light winds happy enough to return home points not to what might be for the poet, or even what might have been, but to what will never be.

What Giamatti observes of Petrarch's exile, "His sense of identity depended on being displaced," is certainly true of the *persona* self-created

in these texts, but Petrarch uses language to recreate what is absent. Marullus does not do this: the absent homeland is never a presence, nor can he be present in it, even in language. He does not use language, as Petrarch does, to compensate for his loss, but only to express that loss, to restate it again and again. This is consistent with a stylistic feature of his work somewhat unusual in the context of the Neo-Latin poetry of his time, the relative lack of metaphor or of figurative language in his verse. His poetry is essentially a poetry of statement not much adorned with imaginative comparison.

Nor is there any religious consolation in the essentially pagan universe this poetry creates, a quality which made contemporaries somewhat uneasy. Croce notes the way in which some sixteenth-century commentators in Italy tried to read Christian allegory into the Hymns to the pagan gods,¹⁹ but it was Erasmus who expressed the more general judgement of Marullus' immediate posterity on his Hymns in a letter written in 1524, "Marullus mihi videtur nihil aliud sonare quam paganismum" (Marullus seems to me to pour out nothing other than Paganism).²⁰ The exiled *persona* is situated in a universe where the gods are indifferent to human virtue. The ultimate reward then will be these texts in which the figure of the poet in eternal exile creates himself. One is reminded of the heroes of the *Iliad* whose most meaningful reward is that they will be the subjects of song, songs like the *Iliad*, for men to come.²¹ This absence of any other ultimately lasting images of consolation gives this poetry a very individual severity and integrity. These texts are finally themselves the only compensation for the loss they are the monument to.

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¹⁹ Croce, *Poeti e scrittori*, II, 376, n. 1.

²⁰ Cited by Ludwig, p. 187.

²¹ See, for instance, VII, 87-91 and IX, 189.

Jacques CHOMARAT

L'ÂNE CHEZ ERASME, PASSERAT, HEINSIUS.

Depuis des années ma bibliothèque renferme deux éloges anciens de l'âne; *ARGUMENTORUM LUDICRORUM ET AMOENITATUM scriptores varii in gratiam studiosae juventutis collecti et emendati*, Lugduni Batavorum, Excudebat Godefridus Basson, Anno MDCXXIII, (6)+ 318+ 144 pp. contient pp. 269 à 281 un *ENCOMIUM ASINI* de Jean Passerat. Le deuxième, sans nom d'auteur, mais reconnu comme l'œuvre de Daniel Heinsius, est *LAUS ASINI in qua, praeter eius animalis laudes ac naturae propria, cum Politica non pauca, tum nonnulla alia diuersae eruditionis, asperguntur. Ad Senatam Populumque eorum, qui, ignari omnium, scientias ac literas hoc tempore contemnunt*, Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officinâ Elzeviriana, Anno MDCXXIII, (8)+193 pp.+ Index pp. 194-222. Ces deux ouvrages ont donc été édités la même année, dans la même ville; l'éloge de l'âne était-il à la mode? Depuis plus longtemps encore je possède la reproduction (Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1961-1962) des *Opera Omnia* d'Erasmus éditées par Jean Leclerc en 10 tomes, Lugduni Batavorum, cura et impensis Peter Vander Aa, MDCCIII à MDCCVI. Un hasard récent vint rappeler à mon attention le héros de Passerat et de Heinsius dont je n'avais pas encore eu le loisir de lire les textes: M. Yves Cambefort, entomologiste au Muséum, auteur d'un savant essai, *Le scarabée et les dieux* (Paris, Boubée, 1994) a remarqué que la lettre-préface d'Erasmus à l'*Eloge de la Folie* porte la date qui ouvre le chapitre I du *Quart livre* de Rabelais: le 5 des Ides de juin, jour des Vestalia où les ânes qui d'ordinaire faisaient tourner les meules se reposaient, couronnés de fleurs.¹ Cela me décida à rechercher tous les *Adages* dans lesquels figure l'âne, à réparer mon retard de lectures et à tirer de ces trois sources un article en hommage au maître des études néo-latines, Jozef IJsewijn. Dernier motif: dans *LE MYSTERE DE L'ÂNE, Essai sur Giordano Bruno*, de Nuccio Ordine, traduction publiée à Paris en 1993 (merci à Etienne Wolff qui me l'a prêtée) d'un ouvrage paru en italien à Naples en 1987, le chapitre consacré à «La littérature de l'âne avant Bruno», ne parle

¹ Ovide, *Fastes* 6, 311-313. M. Cambefort doit bientôt publier un article à ce sujet.

que de l'Italie, alors que les trois auteurs précédents appartiennent à l'Europe du Nord et deux d'entre eux aux Pays-Bas.

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Il n'y a pas moins de 47 *Adages* dans lesquels figure l'âne.² Seul le premier dépasse une colonne dans LB; aucun n'est un essai à la manière des *Sileni Alcibiadis* ou de *Scarabeus aquilam quaerit*; 16 ont moins de dix lignes; 14 autres moins de vingt. Il y a un contraste étonnant entre leur nombre et leur minceur. Ce sont de petits riens, une poussière. Précisément beaucoup expriment par une image l'insignifiance, l'inanité, la nullité, le rien ou le presque rien. Tel est, paradoxe, le sens du plus long; l'« ombre d'un âne », apprend-on, se dit *de re nihili*, d'une chose de rien;

² 1- (n° 252) *Asini umbra*, 132 C - 133 D (92 lignes). 2- (n° 264) *De asini prospectu*, 136 E - 137 B (41 lignes). 3- (n° 266) *Asinus in pelle leonis* (in *Induitis me leonis exuvium*), 137 E-138 B (43 lignes). 4- (n° 267) *Midas auriculas asini*, 138 BF (46 lignes). 5- (n° 335) *Asinus ad lyram*, 164 B - 165 B (47- 9 = 38 lignes). 5 bis- (n° 335) *Asinus auriculas movens*, 164 CD (9 lignes). 6- (n° 340) *Asinum sub freno currere doces*, 167 DE (8 lignes). 7- (n° 379) *Ab asino lanam*, 175 F-176 A (9 lignes). 8- (n° 380) *Asinum tondes*, 176 A (5 lignes). 9- (n° 441) *Asinus inter simias*, 198 EF (17 lignes). 10- (n° 442) *Asinus inter apes*, 198 F-199 A (6 lignes). 11- (n° 443) *Asinus in unguento*, 199 A (11 lignes). 12- (n° 612) *Asinus apud Cumanos*, 265 CD (15 lignes). 13- (n° 629) *Ab equis ad asinos*, 273 BC (9 lignes). 14- (n° 630) *Ab asinis ad boves transcendere*, 273 CD (18 lignes). 14 bis- (n° 630) *Ab asino delapsus*, 273 E - 274 B (46 lignes). 15- (n° 699) *Fricantem refrica*, 300 F 301 C (36 lignes). 16- (n° 798) *Si vel asinus canem mordeat, litem movebit*, 333 B (10 lignes). 17- (n° 1104) *Asinus portans mysteria*, 449 E-450 A (22 lignes). 18- (n° 1452) *Asinus in rupem* (in *Nec sibi nec aliis utilis*), 568 D (7 lignes). 19- (n° 1458) *Asinus in paleas*, 569 DF (22 lignes). 20- (n° 1468) *Antronius asinus*, 571 E-572 A (15 lignes). 21- (n° 1648) *Asinus esuriens fustem negligit*, 625 BD (23 lignes). 22- (n° 1704) *Si bovem non possis, asinum agas*, 640 DE (6 lignes). 23- (n° 1747) *Ex tardigradis asinis equus prodiit*, 649 F-650 B (20 lignes). 24- (n° 2055) *Quanto asinis praestantiores muli*, 729 F-730 B (28 lignes). 25- (n° 2158) *Asini mortes*, 760 EF (7 lignes). 26- (n° 2159) *Asinum compluitur*, 760 F (8 lignes). 27- (n° 2239) *Asini caput ne laves nitro*, 791 E-792 A (4 lignes). 28- (n° 2240) *Asini mandibula*, 792 A (8 lignes). 29- (n° 2414) *Cani das paleas, asino ossa*, 831 A (7 lignes). 30- (n° 2441) *Rex aut asinus*, 838 BE (44 lignes). 31- (n° 2607) *Vtere curru, de asinis nihil laborans*, 885 E (8 lignes). 32- (n° 2624) *Asinus avis*, 889 CD (13 lignes). 33- (n° 2687) *Agas asellum*, 905 B-906 A (24 lignes). 34- (n° 3047) *Asinus ad tibiam*, 980 F (7 lignes). 35- (n° 3076) *Asinus in rupes protrudere*, 986 F-987 A (11 lignes). 36- (n° 3130) *Super te haec omnia Leparge*, 997 CD (13 lignes). 37- (n° 3156) *Asini cauda*, 1001 C (5 lignes). 38- (n° 3243) *Asinos non curo*, 1014 E (5 lignes). 39- (n° 3350) *Asinus balnearioris*, 1036 C (11 lignes). 40- (n° 3525) *Onobatis*, 1081 E-1082 A (21 lignes). 41- (n° 3636) *Asino fabulam*, 1105 EF (11 lignes). 42- (n° 3738) *Asinus stramen mavult quam aurum*, 1132 AC (15 lignes). 43- (n° 3754) *Salvete equorum filiae*, 1135 AB (11 lignes). 44- (n° 3755) *Mithragyrtes, non daduchus*, 1135 B (12 lignes). 45- (n° 3964) *Asinus asino pulcher*, 1174 DE (21 lignes).

Ab asino delapsus (14bis) est sans numéro. Erasme est incertain sur le sens de 33.

sens aussitôt illustré par plusieurs citations tirées de Suidas: Sophocle dans une pièce perdue, *Cedalion*, Aristophane dans une autre pièce perdue, *Daedalus*, puis Aristote faisant allusion, pense Erasme, à une comédie d'Archippus (dont l'œuvre est perdue) mentionnée par Zénodote. Ce n'est sans doute pas fortuitement qu'Erasme a commencé la série des citations par de petits bouts d'œuvres disparues: c'est une manière indirecte et subtile de souligner le thème de l'insignifiance et du quasi-néant que d'utiliser ces miettes échappées par hasard au naufrage du temps: ombres d'un âne. Puis viennent trois citations mieux enracinées: Lucien dans *Les Sectes*, Aristophane dans *Les Guêpes*, Démosthène dans une *Philippique*.³ Le nom de ce troisième auteur amène Erasme à conter longuement l'anecdote qui aurait donné naissance à l'adage: lors d'un procès criminel l'orateur athénien pour réveiller l'auditoire se mit à parler d'un jeune homme qui, ayant loué un âne, voulut en pleine chaleur se reposer à son ombre, mais le propriétaire ne le permit point: il avait loué l'âne, et non son ombre; d'où débat en justice; et Démosthène commence à descendre de la tribune, mais l'auditoire veut connaître la suite de l'histoire: *Cela vous intéresse d'entendre parler de l'ombre d'un âne, mais quand il s'agit d'un homme qui risque sa vie cela vous ennuie!* Puis Erasme présente une variante due à Plutarque dans sa *Vie de Démosthène*: le conflit entre le jeune homme et l'ânier a pour objet de savoir qui des deux a le droit de se mettre à l'ombre de l'âne. Variante à peu près insignifiante, mais pour cette raison même en parfaite harmonie avec le sens de l'adage. Erasme s'amuse à en signaler une autre: le jeune homme voulait se rendre non à Mégare, mais à Delphes. Sont enfin nommés ou cités: Apulée, Ménandre, le *Phèdre* de Platon, une lettre de Procope, le *Contre Celse* d'Origène. Pour conclure: «Mais il est grand temps de quitter l'ombre de l'âne, de peur qu'on ne se moque de nous, avec raison, comme trop minutieux *au sujet de l'ombre d'un âne*».⁴ Conclusion prévisible!

L'insignifiance est doublement représentée dans cet adage: par l'ombre, qui s'oppose à la réalité, qui est vaine, qui est néant (σκιῶς ὄντα ἄνθρωπος)⁵ et par l'âne; on a une sorte de superlatif ou d'équivalent de l'hébreu «vanité des vanités». Mais pourquoi l'âne est-il symbole de chose négligeable ou méprisable? La citation du *Phèdre* le fait comprendre, il est tel par comparaison avec le cheval (Erasme a négligé ce

³ En réalité le *De Pace*, 25 (cité à nouveau plus bas). Pour le récit Erasme traduit Suidas (la Souda). Voir l'édition ASD II-1, 364, 471 et 509.

⁴ LB II 133 D.

point dans sa traduction): «les orateurs incompetents agissent de façon honteuse et dangereuse lorsque devant une plèbe elle-même incompetente ils font l'éloge non point de l'ombre d'un âne, chose inconsistante et de nul poids, mais du mal comme s'il était le bien. Μῆ περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς ὡς ἵππου τὸν ἐπαινὸν ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ περὶ κακοῦ ὡς ἀγαθοῦ.»⁶ (faisant l'éloge non de l'ombre d'un âne *comme si elle était celle d'un cheval*, mais du mal comme s'il était le bien).

D'autres adages utilisent l'âne comme symbole de la nullité, étalon du dérisoire, plus bas degré dans l'échelle des valeurs. Ainsi 2: (accuser) «pour le regard d'un âne»; celui-ci ayant glissé sa tête par la fenêtre d'un modeleur, sa vue provoqua un désastre dans l'atelier; «se dit donc de ceux qui accusent quelqu'un pour un motif dérisoire ou intentent un procès pour des questions frivoles». 13 «Passer des chevaux aux ânes»: «quand on passe d'une profession fort honorable à une qui ne l'est guère», devenant «de philosophe musicien, de théologien professeur de lettres, de négociant cabaretier, d'intendant cuisinier, de forgeron comédien»; certaines de ces déchéances ne sont pas énoncées sans une éclatante ironie, comme la seconde. Même descente dans l'échelle des valeurs avec 22 «Si tu ne peux mener un boeuf, mène un âne»: «quand on ne peut faire comme on veut, il faut faire comme on peut. S'il ne t'est pas échue une destinée éblouissante, contente-toi du sort qui t'est échue. Si tu ne peux obtenir ce que tu souhaites, attache-toi à ce qui en est le plus proche. Source: Suidas». Mouvement inverse dans une semblable hiérarchie: 14 «S'élever des ânes aux boeufs» ou 24 «Combien les mulets sont supérieurs aux ânes». Comme le rappelle 43 Simonide amené par un bon salaire à chanter les mules les apostropha: «Salut, filles des chevaux», passant sous silence leurs mères, les ânesses. Exprime encore l'ascension 23 «Des ânes au pas lent est issu le cheval», «lorsque quelqu'un né d'une famille obscure est devenu célèbre ou quand de chez un précepteur ignorant sort un disciple savant»; «on peut aussi l'employer par ironie avec une négation, par exemple: *jamais des ânes n'engendreront un cheval* ou bien: *tiens! un cheval né d'ânes!* c'est-à-dire: un être arrogant et hautain né d'humbles parents». Plus énigmatique 31 Ἀπονέμου τῆς σῆς ἀμάξης, τῶν δ' ὄνων οὐδὲν μέλει, «Utilise ton char, ne te soucie pas des ânes», c'est-à-dire: «Ceux qui ont un char chez eux n'ont pas à louer des ânes ailleurs pour transporter leurs fardeaux»; donc

⁵ «L'homme est le rêve d'une ombre», Pindare *Pyth.* 8, 99 (*Adage* 1248 *Homo bulla*).

⁶ Platon *Phèdre* 260 C; LB II 133 C.

«il faut s'occuper de ses propres affaires et en profiter sans se mêler ni se soucier de celles des autres». Le même adage est à peu près répété en 38 «Je ne m'occupe pas des ânes»; car «qui a un chariot chez lui n'a pas besoin de prendre des ânes en location»; selon cette interprétation il faudrait donc admettre que «le char» inclut l'attelage? ne pourrait-on comprendre: l'important c'est le char, tu en as un, trouver des ânes pour le tirer n'est pas une affaire, il faut distinguer l'essentiel de l'accessoire? L'âne, symbole de ce qui est bas ou nul, permet de définir ce qu'on appellera plus tard le burlesque, le ton épique pour raconter des bagatelles: 25 «(Dire) les morts d'un âne» «était utilisé contre ceux qui narraient des choses absurdes et ridicules comme par exemple conter dans un long récit les dangers courus par un âne comme Homère le fait pour ceux qu'a courus Ulysse. Apulée en offre l'exemple dans sa *Métamorphose* où précisément il rapporte les morts d'un âne.» Au jeu de paume, rappelle 30, le vainqueur était appelé Roi, le vaincu Âne et il devait exécuter tout ce que lui ordonnait le Roi.

D'autres adages donnent la raison bien connue de ce classement infamant: l'âne est sot, bête, incapable de comprendre, incapable d'apprendre ce qu'on voudrait lui enseigner (ce sens a subsisté dans les écoles, plus longtemps que l'âne dans les prés). Le plus célèbre est 5 «L'âne à la lyre», avec citations de Varron, Jérôme, Lucien: il se dit «de ceux qui par ignorance n'ont ni jugement ni oreille» ou de ceux «auxquels on ne peut enseigner les arts libéraux et qui sont inéducables»;⁷ variante: 5bis «L'âne qui remue les oreilles», «se dit de ceux qui, tout en ne comprenant rien, font comme s'ils comprenaient tout, et par leurs hochements de tête ou leurs sourires approuvent ceux qui parlent»; «on le lancera à bon droit contre ceux qui s'essaient maladroitement à un art qu'ils ignorent et auquel leur naturel répugne»; ce sont là scènes de comédie. Autres adages exprimant l'incapacité à comprendre: le 11 «L'âne parfumé», «quand on offre des choses délicieuses à des gens à qui elles ne conviennent pas et qui ne savent pas les utiliser ou n'en font pas leurs délices», s'emploie «quand un ignorant tombe sur d'excellents auteurs que son ignorance lui fait négliger ou même fausser»; le 34 «L'âne à la flûte» «se dit de ceux qui ne remarquent ne comprennent ni ne louent les finesses de ce qu'on dit», car «si certains animaux comme chevaux, oiseaux, serpents ont quelque sentiment de la musique, ce n'est pas le cas des ânes»; on notera cet emploi figuré de «musique» pour désigner

⁷ LB II 164 BC *indociles bonarum artium atque intractabiles*.

l'éloquence. **41** «Raconter une histoire à un âne» dit la même chose. **6** «Tu apprends à un âne à courir en obéissant au mors», c'est-à-dire «Tu veux instruire qui ne peut l'être» (*doces indocilem*), «car le cheval est apte à la course, l'âne est nul pour la course équestre», rappelle ce qui a valu à l'âne sa réputation de sottise obstinée dans les sociétés antiques, puis dans les nôtres: il est rétif; le cheval, plus docile et donc apte à la guerre, était considéré comme un animal noble; d'autre part, suggère **14** (voir ci-dessus), pour labourage et travaux de ferme l'âne n'a pas la force du boeuf, autre source de déconsidération. **37** «La queue d'un âne» rabaisse encore l'âne devant le cheval pour une raison accessoire: avec les crins de la queue du cheval on peut faire un crible; impossible avec ceux de l'âne, donc l'adage permettra «de dire que quelqu'un est inutile pour ceci ou cela». Même signification péjorative dans **14bis** «Tombé de l'âne», «se dit de ceux qui font quelque chose sans réflexion ni compétence ou de ceux qui perdent leurs avantages présents dont par ignorance ils sont incapables de tirer parti»; mais ici l'origine de l'adage serait un calembour: ἀπ'ὄvou (loin de l'âne) proviendrait de ἀπὸ νοῦ (loin de l'intelligence); suit une historiette: deux hommes dans un désert trouvent un âne, à qui appartiendra-t-il? pendant qu'ils se disputent, l'âne s'enfuit; Erasme ajoute: «je note que les *Grammatici*⁸ aimaient attacher à tous les adages une anecdote vraie ou imaginaire». **18** «L'âne contre un rocher» (inclus dans «qui ne sert ni à soi ni aux autres») fait allusion à un passage d'Horace (*Epist.* I, 20, 15): un âne qui ne connaissait pas la route et refusait d'obéir à son guide, fut précipité par celui-ci sur un rocher: c'est une image de ceux qui, incapables de voir ce qu'il faut faire, refusent obstinément tout conseil. On retrouve la citation d'Horace dans **35** où elle est devenue adage à part entière.

D'autres opposent la réalité misérable représentée par l'âne à une apparence, à un rôle social mirifique ou grandiose, mais trompeur. **3** «L'âne sous une peau de lion» «se dit d'ordinaire de ceux qui se chargent d'une entreprise au-dessus de leurs aptitudes et qui se comportent trop magnifiquement pour leur condition»; Erasme raconte alors d'après Lucien l'histoire de l'âne enveloppé dans une peau de lion et longtemps pris pour un vrai lion par les habitants de Cumes qui n'en avaient jamais vu; la même anecdote est reprise en **12** avec ce commentaire: «s'applique à ceux qui malgré leur inaptitude ridicule sont en

⁸ *Grammatici* désigne les commentateurs et lexicographes antiques.

haute estime chez ceux qui ne les connaissent pas, en raison même de leur nouveauté; ou bien à ceux qui doivent à la fortune un honneur qu'ils ne méritent pas et en tirent d'ordinaire de la suffisance et de l'insolence.» Le 17 «L'âne portant des objets sacrés» (cf. Apul. *Met.* VIII, 27) «se disait de qui occupe une charge dont il est indigne. Par exemple un illettré à la direction d'une bibliothèque»; ou, plus hardiment (mais l'*Eloge* regorge de ces hardiesses), «quand on accorde à des ignorants le titre de Docteur, le bonnet, l'anneau et autres insignes de ce genre» (marque des théologiens); antithèse analogue dans 44 «Mendiant pour Mithra et non porteur de torche» qui «signifie que le personnage n'a pas été initié aux mystères, mais qu'il veut le faire croire»; à ces tricheurs mis en scène par Apulée sont semblables «ceux qui aujourd'hui portent ici et là des reliques de saint Antoine, de Corneille ou de Jean Baptiste plutôt pour en tirer profit que pour la piété». On voit que toutes ces expressions, réellement utilisées comme adages dans l'antiquité ou élevées à cet honneur par Erasme à partir des textes anciens, dénonçant la duplicité et la charlatanerie, sont appliquées sans difficulté aux réalités de son temps dans les deux domaines auxquels il a consacré son œuvre: les bonnes lettres et la piété chrétienne.

Très voisin des précédents l'adage qui oppose chez l'âne lui-même extérieur et intérieur, apparence imposante et stupidité réelle, comme font les *Silènes d'Alcibiade* (les Silènes inversés); 20 parle d'un âne d'Antronia (ville de Thessalie) «qui avait un corps massif et gigantesque, mais un esprit stupide et abruti»; «aujourd'hui aussi il existe une plaisanterie populaire contre les hommes de grande taille comme s'ils manquaient de jugement et comme si la nature se plaisait à établir un équilibre, en ôtant à l'esprit ce qu'elle a donné en surplus à la masse du corps». 4 «Midas a des oreilles d'âne» est équivoque: il peut signifier que sous la majestueuse apparence royale Midas cache des oreilles qui trahissent sa stupidité ou bien que les tyrans ont des oreilles aussi longues que les ânes qui leur permettent d'entendre même de loin, comme s'ils avaient des espions partout. Si la première interprétation rattache cet adage à la ligne de pensée précédente, avec la seconde on passe à la dénonciation du despotisme.

La sottise, évidente ou cachée, n'est pas le seul défaut de l'âne enregistré par des adages antiques. L'animal, s'il fallait en croire 16, serait querelleur, ami de la bagarre, *rixosus*, mais comme le montre Henri Estienne (note de LB) Erasme a mal interprété «Il y aura procès même si c'est un âne qui a mordu un chien». L'âne serait symbole d'avarice

selon 39 «L'âne du tenancier de bains», c'est-à-dire celui qui ne profite pas de son travail, «comme le riche, avare et sordide, qui, tout couvert de richesses, n'en tire pourtant aucune jouissance»; à vrai dire on aurait plutôt vu dans cet âne qui travaille sans cesse sans jamais jouir de la vie l'image de l'esclave, du travailleur exploité par son maître; mais Erasme n'est ici que l'écho de Plutarque. D'après 28 «La mâchoire de l'âne» celui-ci aurait été goinfre; selon Erasme cette passion de dévorer se déduit non seulement d'Horace et d'Hésychius citant Eupolis, mais peut-être aussi de *Juges* XV, 15 (Samson); c'est le seul renvoi à la Bible dans tous ces adages. De sens voisin 21, «L'âne affamé ne fait pas attention aux coups de bâton», «s'applique à ceux qui pour leur ventre ou pour le profit supportent n'importe quel outrage»; Aristote l'utilise dans son analyse du courage: il ne suffit pas, pour être courageux, de savoir supporter les coups, car à ce compte l'âne le serait au plus haut point. Enfin 40 «Celle qui avance sur un âne» associe l'âne à l'impudicité car à Cumes la femme adultère était conduite sur un âne à travers toute la ville; Erasme commente: «Il faut noter combien a déchu la sévérité des lois. Chez les Hébreux la femme adultère était lapidée. A Rome la loi Julia la menaçait autrefois. A Cumes le pire déshonneur tenait lieu de châtiment. Aujourd'hui chez les chrétiens l'adultère est un jeu, bien que le mariage soit pour eux un sacrement. Que reste-t-il, sinon à décréter une récompense pour ceux qui ont souillé les épouses de beaucoup d'autres. Jadis les impures profanées étaient ensevelies vivantes.⁹ Aujourd'hui violer une vierge consacrée au Christ est de la piété.»

Rien ne sera donc épargné à l'âne? pourtant un changement de perspective serait permis par 45, «L'âne est beau pour l'âne, le cochon pour le cochon»; Erasme l'interprète de façon péjorative comme dénonçant la dépravation du jugement: «Il conviendra lorsqu'entre gens malhonnêtes la ressemblance des mœurs et du mode de vie fait naître des dispositions favorables, ainsi du soldat envers le soldat, du joueur envers le joueur, du buveur envers le buveur, du sophiste envers le sophiste» (ces sophistes sont les professeurs de dialectique, de théologie ou matéologie comme dit *Annot.* 1 *Tim.* 1, 6). Mais on pourrait en tirer une leçon de relativisme, comme fait la table systématique à la fin de l'ouvrage puisqu'elle classe cet adage sous la rubrique *Alia aliis placent* (Des goûts et des couleurs on ne dispute point) à côté de *Quot homines, tot sententiae* (autant d'hommes, autant d'avis) et de *Suum cuique pulchrum*

⁹ Les vestales (Tite-Live 8, 15, 8).

(chacun trouve beau ce qui est sien).¹⁰ Cela ne suffit pas pour voir là un tournant dans l'ensemble des adages qui ont l'âne pour pitoyable héros. Il en est pourtant quelques-uns qui, sans effacer la sottise, suggèrent plutôt pitié que raillerie méprisante. Certains mettent en lumière l'innocence qu'il y a dans la stupidité de l'âne, face à l'astuce méchante d'autres animaux: **9** «L'âne au milieu des singes», «quand on tombe sur des gens railleurs et injurieux, en étant soi-même stupide, et qu'ils se moquent de vous impunément»; **10** «L'âne au milieu des abeilles» est pire: «lorsqu'on tombe par malchance sur des gens malhonnêtes et brutaux».

Un pas de plus et on hésite: vertu ou vice? **15** «Frotte en échange qui te frotte», c'est-à-dire, «rendre service à qui vous rend service, payer un bienfait par un bienfait; selon Suidas cela vient des ânes qui se mordillent réciproquement et on peut le dire dans les deux sens, de ceux qui s'entraident par des services mutuels ou qui se nuisent par des outrages mutuels»; donc rancune ou gratitude; mais on peut aussi comprendre: échange de flatteries comme *Moria* (Miller 130, 92), parlant il est vrai non point d'ânes, mais de mulets. Même incertitude avec **26** «L'âne est arrosé par la pluie», «se dit de ceux qui ne sont absolument pas émus par les injures. De même que l'âne en raison de sa peau dure est peu incommodé par la pluie et ne sent même qu'à peine les coups de bâton»; ce qui pouvait être compris comme impassibilité stoïcienne et sagesse (ainsi chez Heinsius) ne serait donc qu'insensibilité? On est tenté de se faire avocat quand on voit méprisé à un tel point ce malheureux animal. Encore en **42** ce qui commençait comme un éloge s'achève en critique: Aristote (*Eth. Nic.* X, 5, 8) développant la même idée relativiste que **45** affirme: «tous ne prennent pas plaisir aux mêmes choses, certaines plaisent au chien, d'autres au cheval, d'autres à l'homme», puis il cite Héraclite: «L'âne préfère la litière à l'or»; «en ceci, commente Erasme, les ânes sont plus sages que les hommes. Car ils estiment les choses d'après leur utilité, tandis que nous fixons arbitrairement des prix élevés pour certaines inutiles et même nuisibles»; mais Erasme mentionne le coq qui avait préféré un grain de blé à une perle et ajoute: «ainsi ceux qui sont esclaves de leur ventre préfèrent le plaisir de boire et de s'enivrer à toutes les disciplines libérales»; sagesse ou bassesse? On flotte entre les deux interprétations.

Il faut faire un sort à **36** car c'est le seul adage où l'âne confronté à un autre animal, en l'occurrence le boeuf, a le dernier mot malgré son sort

¹⁰ LB II *Index proverbiorum iuxta locos*, colonne 25.

tragique: «Tout cela te revient, Blanquet»; se dit de ceux qui à peine un travail achevé doivent en effectuer un autre sans avoir le temps de respirer car après le labour il faut rapporter les instruments au logis; le boeuf a refusé de partager la charge avec l'âne qui, plus faible, ploie sous le fardeau et ne tarde pas à défaillir; mais avant de succomber il a le temps de dire au boeuf la phrase ci-dessus; et le boeuf devra tout porter avec de plus la peau de l'âne.¹¹

Est-ce tout? L'âne figure dans plusieurs autres adages, mais il n'en est plus le «héros»: «Chercher de la laine sur un âne» (7) ou «Tondre un âne» (8) c'est sottement chercher ce qui n'existe nulle part ou entreprendre quelque chose d'absurde et d'inutile. La sottise n'est plus ici le fait de l'âne. Pas davantage en 27 «Ne lave pas la tête d'un âne avec du nitre» c'est-à-dire «ne dépense pas de l'argent ou des efforts à une tâche vile et sordide». Ni en 32 «(Prendre) un âne pour un oiseau» (Aristoph. Av.): quelqu'un près d'un malade, voyant un âne se relever de sa chute, interpréta cela comme un présage annonçant la guérison. Ou en 29 «Tu donnes de la paille au chien, des os à l'âne» évoque une distribution à l'envers (*praepostere*, terme cher à Erasme). «Comme si on envoyait à un ignorant un cadeau fait pour un lettré, à un savant des fleurettes ou une épée ou un baudrier, à un soldat un livre, à un évêque des chiens de chasse. Car ces cadeaux sont désagréables précisément parce qu'ils sont inadaptés. Quelquefois ils se changent en affront»; Erasme ne donne aucune source directe ou indirecte. Curieusement 19 qui commence sur un ton tout différent s'achève aussi en satire: «L'âne a trouvé sa paille»; «se dit lorsque quelqu'un est comblé par la fortune au-delà de ses espérances ou obtient par hasard ce qui fait ses plus grandes délices; ainsi quand on voit un amateur d'huîtres s'en régaler à satiété, il sera à propos de dire: l'âne a trouvé sa paille (Athénée). Ce sera plus plaisant si on l'emploie par métaphore, mettons si quelqu'un lit avidement un Poète dont il fait ses plus chères délices. Il sera approprié encore si quelqu'un par ignorance salit quelque chose, par exemple si un barbare illettré salit de mauvais commentaires un bon auteur; c'est ainsi que Thomas et Nicolas ont souillé de leurs gloses, Passavant de ses additions également niaises le grand livre *La Cité de Dieu*. En effet l'âne aime se rouler sur le sol et met le désordre par son dérèglement. C'est aussi ce qu'indique Apulée, quand il écrit qu'à force de s'y rouler l'âne a détruit toutes les planches d'un jardin. Tout le monde voit bien que

¹¹ «Blanquet» pour *λέπαργε* qu'Erasme interprète comme épithète du boeuf.

l'adage est né d'un fait réel.» On a traduit presque tout le texte, tant il est révélateur du penchant d'Erasme à la critique: ceux qu'il vise sont Thomas d'Aquin, Nicolas de Lyre que plus d'une fois il réfute ou raille dans ses *Annotations au Nouveau Testament*; et Passavanti, un Dominicain florentin du XIV^e siècle dont Erasme écrit à Budé qu'avec Hugues de Saint-Cher et les auteurs de *Sommes* ils le stimulent pour écrire.¹²

Pour conclure: rien dans ces *Adages* ne montre qu'Erasme ait observé un âne vivant. Ils n'en sont pas moins personnels, mais l'expérience se lit dans les exemples de sottise, de faux savoir et de fausse piété; ensemble ils constituent une sorte d'annexe au tableau que propose l'*Eloge de la Folie*.

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Parmi les 20 divertissements destinés à un public scolaire, intitulés *Argumentorum, etc.*, deux sont dus à Jean Passerat (1534-1602), poète latin et français, professeur au Collège royal dès 1572, commentateur de Plaute, Catulle, Salluste, Cicéron, Virgile, Tibulle, Properce, Ovide; l'un est un poème en 70 hexamètres intitulé *Nihil*, l'autre est l'*Encomium asini*, «Eloge de l'âne»; c'est une leçon inaugurale humoristique, de date inconnue, déjà parue en 1606 dans un recueil d'*Orationes et Praefationes* où elle occupe la seconde place après une *In Plauti Prolegomena Oratio* et avant cinq autres *Praefationes* à des comédies du même Plaute.

Après son cours sur *Amphitryon* l'orateur va maintenant expliquer l'*Asinaria*; les comédies de Plaute ayant toujours été reçues très favorablement, il n'est nul besoin d'une *captatio benevolentiae*, mais l'orateur craint qu'en passant de la première pièce, «grave tragicomédie» avec pour personnages des dieux et des rois, à celle-ci il ne soit raillé pour être passé «des chevaux aux ânes» (*Adage 13* ci-dessus); il entreprend donc de se justifier en réfutant l'adage, en montrant l'injustice de la mauvaise réputation faite aux ânes.

Pourquoi placer l'âne au-dessous du cheval? pour sa lenteur? mais il y a des ânes très rapides en Orient selon Elien et Xénophon.¹³ Sa faiblesse?

¹² Allen n° 531, II, 463, 150-153, à Budé, 15 fév. 1517: «Toi, Pline, Hermolao, Politien t'aiguillonnent pour écrire. Moi, ce qui m'encourage ce sont les Passavant, les Hugues, les auteurs de *Sommes*; car devant les premiers je suis plus que muet, mais chez ces ultra-barbares j'ose tant bien que mal faire entendre ma voix comme une alouette.»

¹³ Elien *Nat. Anim.* 12, 34, 25: les Saracoroï emploient les ânes pour la guerre; on n'a rien su trouver chez Xénophon. Peut-être s'agit-il de références illusoire; cf. note 18.

mais les ânes engendrent les mulets, faute desquels (entre autres graves inconvénients pour les humains) les médecins iraient à pied chez leurs malades. Ils sont inaptes à la guerre, à la différence des chevaux? «Mais j'accepte volontiers qu'on dise cela, que les chevaux contribuent grandement à la perte des hommes, tandis que les ânes servent seulement à leur salut, à la pratique et au maintien des arts de la paix»;¹⁴ ce sont les chevaux qui ont toutes sortes de défauts: *refractarios, succussatores, umbram metuentes, mordaces, sternaces, calcitriones*. Ce sont des ânes, non des chevaux qui portent les objets du culte de la Grande Mère, Cybèle, Isis ou Cérès (cf 17); ils sont la monture de Silène; à la fête des *Consualia* Neptune les honore autant que les chevaux.

Puis l'orateur énumère tous les services rendus par l'âne dans la production du blé et de la farine. Il loue son endurance, sa frugalité d'où vient sa longévité car il est rarement malade à la différence des gastronomes, Apicius et autres, — à moins qu'on ne veuille voir de la gourmandise chez l'âne mangeant des figues, spectacle qui fit mourir de rire l'auteur comique Philémon.¹⁵ La reine des vertus, la justice, brille chez l'âne qui ne vole jamais le fourrage d'autrui, est toujours serviable, jamais nuisible. Il est fidèle à son maître; donc nul besoin de le surveiller ou de l'emprisonner, comme le cheval, qui ne songe alors qu'à s'évader ainsi que le dépeint Ennius.¹⁶ Il aime ses enfants, les sauve de l'incendie, l'ânesse n'abandonne jamais un nouveau-né, à la différence des femmes qui font même pire parfois.¹⁷

Autres adages, autres griefs: «l'âne à la lyre», «l'âne à la flûte» (Erasme 5 et 34). Ici la réfutation est sophistiquée: l'orateur néglige d'abord le sens figuré, le sens vrai, et s'en tient à la lettre: quel mal y a-t-il à ne pas aimer la lyre? beaucoup de grands hommes lui ont été réfractaires, comme Thémistocle, Héraclès qui tua Linos, son professeur de musique.¹⁸ Quant à la flûte, d'une part on en fait de très bonnes avec des os d'ânes, d'autre part Minerve lui était hostile selon Properce.¹⁹

¹⁴ P. 271 «Facile hoc dici patior, equos ad hominum perniciem plurimum, asinos nihil conferre nisi ad salutem, et ad pacis artes recolendas atque retinendas.»

¹⁵ Valère-Maxime 9. 12, 6 ext.; Diogène Laërce 7, 7, 7 (185) fait de Chrysippe le héros de cette mort par le rire: Heinsius y fait allusion p. 33.

¹⁶ D'après Macrobe *Saturn.* 6, 3, 7, traduction latine d'Hom. *Iliade* 6, 506-511 où est décrit un cheval évadé de l'écurie. Virgile a traduit ce passage dans *Énéide* 11, 492-7.

¹⁷ Pline *Nat.* 8, 169. Pire chez les femmes: l'infanticide.

¹⁸ Non pas Thémistocle et la lyre, mais Alcibiade et la flûte (Plut. *Alc.* 2, 5, 192 e). Confusion volontaire? — Hercule et Linos: Elien *Var. Hist.* 3, 32.

¹⁹ Properce 2, 30, 17-18 (avec *natauit* au lieu de *natasti*): «jetée, (la flûte) flotta sur les flots du Méandre alors qu'une bouffissure enlaidissait le visage de Pallas».

En second lieu si on interprète ces adages comme signifiant que l'âne a l'esprit lent et épais, on se trompe, il a été le condisciple d'Origène et de Porphyryon, les plus savants des hommes.²⁰ Quant à l'ignorance, n'est-ce pas des ânes qui ont enseigné par l'exemple aux vigneron l'art de tailler la vigne? c'est pourquoi Liber les a reçus dans sa clientèle. On les offre en sacrifice à Apollon, non qu'il les détesterait, au contraire: «Les dieux aiment beaucoup l'âne». Il fournit des présages et l'orateur cite l'adage 32 «L'âne oiseau» en feignant d'ignorer qu'il est ironique.

L'âne a de grandes oreilles. Pas plus grandes que celles du lièvre. On loue certains peuples de leurs grandes oreilles; tout le monde voudrait avoir de grandes oreilles²¹ car elles donnent à l'âne meilleure ouïe qu'à tout autre animal. Vient une interprétation des oreilles du roi Midas (4): grâce aux renseignements obtenus il régla si sagement ses affaires que «son royaume fut le plus florissant et le plus heureux»; d'où d'autres composantes du mythe: tout ce qu'il touchait devenait or.

Peut-on reprocher à l'âne sa voix «rauque et âpre»? Il ne faut pas oublier que lors de la Gigantomachie c'est le braiment de l'âne de Silène qui mit en fuite les Titans;²² Jupiter lui doit plus qu'à son égide et à sa foudre; aussi plaça-t-il l'âne parmi les constellations. Donc être appelé «âne» n'a rien d'infamant comme le montrent l'exemple de Cléanthe qui y vit un éloge²³ et celui de grandes familles romaines les Asellii, les Aselliones, etc. L'orateur remercie l'auditoire de l'avoir écouté avec bienveillance, mais rien d'étonnant sur un tel sujet, puisque déjà le prince des orateurs, Démosthène, avait reconquis l'attention des Athéniens grâce à «l'ombre d'un âne» (1). Mais assez parlé. Nous avons traité le sujet «sans art, ni ornement comme le demandait la vérité qui aime le style simple». Si un autre veut le reprendre pour y mettre parures et frisures, je le lui laisse volontiers. Je me contente d'avoir prélué à l'explication de la pièce de Plaute.

Ce bref discours est une réussite par sa construction adroite, son utilisation ingénieuse de l'érudition vraie ou truquée, son art du raisonnement captieux et son ingénuité feinte. Est-il plus qu'une récréation?

²⁰ Origène et Porphyryon n'ont pu être condisciples. Alors surnoms de contemporains? Porphyryon est sans doute Denys Lambin (1520-1572) commentateur d'Horace; Origène, Ramus (1515-1572) maladivement chaste (Bayle *Dict. hist. crit.*, art. Ramus, note K, 43). L'âne pourrait être un autre professeur royal («condisciple»!), Passerat lui-même?

²¹ «Aurículas asini quis sanus nolit habere, déformation présentée comme telle de Aurículas asini quis non habet?» (Perse, le *tenebricosus satyricus*, 1, 121).

²² Hygin *Astr.* 2, 23 (Teubner, I. 976-983).

²³ Diog. Laert. 7, 5, 4, 170.

Passerat exprime fortement son amour de la paix. Y a-t-il une pensée plus hardie dans: «les dieux aiment beaucoup l'âne» (*diis asinus carissimus est*)? Peut-on la transposer à l'époque de Passerat, y voir une pointe contre les dévots fanatiques qui se font immoler? il y a des railleries de ce genre chez Dolet.²⁴ Et on ne peut oublier que Passerat fut le principal auteur de la *Satyre Ménippée*, pamphlet contre la Ligue dans lequel l'âne joue un rôle.²⁵

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Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), poète, philologue, historien, théologien protestant, a écrit un «Eloge de l'âne dans lequel outre les mérites et les particularités naturelles de cet animal se trouvent répandues non seulement quelques réflexions politiques, mais encore plusieurs autres observations d'une érudition variée. Dédié au Sénat et au peuple de ceux qui, parfaits ignorants, dédaignent aujourd'hui les sciences et les lettres». A la fin il explique la genèse de l'œuvre: «Je me souviens que jadis, comme je dépassais les premiers rudiments des lettres sous l'autorité de professeurs, chaque fois que j'avais écrit gauchement un poème ou un discours ou que j'avais mal compris ce qu'on me disait, à ma grande douleur ils m'appelaient âne. Ce mot, affreux par lui-même, pénétrait alors dans mon âme plus désagréablement qu'on ne peut dire. Jusqu'au moment où je commençai à regarder avec soin les affaires humaines, à comparer entre elles les histoires grecque et romaine, contemporaine et antique un peu autrement que ne font les pédagogues, et à noter non point comme d'autres les antiquités ou les mots obscurs, mais les mystères et les secrets du pouvoir chez les plus grands auteurs et à en juger. Alors j'ai facilement compris que je n'avais aucune raison pour refuser d'être ce que sont ou furent tant de personnages, quelquefois de haut rang, et des peuples tout entiers, et ce que sont, sans parler des autres, tant de gens que je voyais placés au-dessus de tout le monde. J'ai aussi jugé bon d'exprimer dans cet écrit l'amour et l'admiration que j'ai toujours eus pour mon client à qui plus d'un rend un culte, mais que beaucoup osent accuser» (pp. 191-2). La Préface adressée «au lecteur amical» n'a pas la même ironie: «Je n'ai pas eu d'autre dessein que de

²⁴ *Dialogus de Imitatione Ciceroniana*, réédition due à Emile V. Telle (Genève, Droz, 1974) p. 6, l. 23-4: «(Les autres) me font rire par leur sottise, car avec un ridicule entêtement et une intolérable obstination ils se mettent eux-mêmes dans un péril mortel.»

²⁵ *Regret funèbre sur le trépas de l'âne ligueur* (Gilles Durand); *Un pauvre asnier*.

venger les âmes avides d'apprendre et prétendant à la littérature du mépris de tous ceux qui avec la plus grande liberté insultent non seulement ces hommes, mais aussi, à cause d'eux, la culture (*eruditioni*) et les sciences. Et comme on juge en général cet animal né pour la servitude, j'ai aussi introduit çà et là des digressions en faveur de la liberté que la nature recommande à tous, en saisissant les occasions qu'offraient notre temps ou mon très ingénu client.» (f° 3).

Donc cet éloge est une réflexion sur l'histoire; Heinsius a voulu faire la satire de l'ignorance, mais aussi des fausses grandeurs sociales et de la servitude consentie, louer la liberté et la culture qui sont liées. L'œuvre est difficile à lire à cause des fautes du texte²⁶, de la complexité du style, de la surabondance d'une érudition variée qui rend plus d'une allusion obscure et du désordre de la construction que Heinsius confesse: «Dans cet écrit, sauf erreur, j'ai imité celui que je loue. Car, de même que lui sans plan fixé ni ordre quelconque, quand il rencontre des chardons surtout ou une moisson, si l'on en croit Homère,²⁷ s'égare volontiers et s'éloigne du chemin, de même moi à ma fantaisie j'ai fait des digressions vers les inepties des hommes et les homonymes de l'âne» (p. 192).

Le discours commence par rappeler les moyens étranges utilisés par certains orateurs pour captiver leur auditoire; ainsi l'*asini umbra* par Démosthène. Etymologies d'*asinus* et d'ὄνος. Zoologie, puis psychologie de l'âne: courage, *ingenium*, ténacité, alors que le cheval est *calcitro*, *cespicator*, *strigosus*, *succussor*. Rôle des ânes chez les humains: souverains (Midas); philosophes, poètes: Polémon (cf. note 14); ânes qui parlent, qui écrivent, ânes-juges, etc; bien des hommes instruits sont écartés des hautes fonctions occupées par d'autres qui n'ont que l'apparence du savoir et de la raison (pp. 1-35).

A un jeune homme qui s'en plaignait l'auteur a répondu: les privilèges des chevaux sont anciens et connus, ceux des ânes indéterminés, nullement fixés par la loi, donc immenses et presque infinis; partout on trouve des ânes, même au ciel (constellation), dans la mer et aux Enfers; que faire sinon venir grossir leur nombre ou bien supporter courageusement cette situation, armé de la sagesse stoïcienne; car «de même que dans la cité les individus passent, mais la République est éternelle, de même des ânes sont enterrés chaque jour, mais la race demeure et

²⁶ A la liste des *mendae typographicae* (fin de la Préface) ajoutons: p. 95 *esca* (au lieu de *recta*); p. 112 *texam* (*textam*); p. 172 *oleo* (*adeo*), etc.

²⁷ *Iliade* 11, 560.

demeurera à jamais. Chaque âge, chaque héros, Platon, Aristote et avant eux Socrate ont eu les leurs»; Homère, Pindare, Simonide, Virgile aussi; aujourd'hui dans quelques Universités la corruption et l'or font couronner les mauvais et éliminer les meilleurs. Si les souverains écartent les conseillers les plus intelligents c'est peut-être, selon Thucydide, *politicorum maximus* (p.41), parce que ceux-ci sont trop prompts aux innovations, tandis que ceux d'esprit plus lent savent mieux freiner le cours des choses (*moderandis rebus*). La meilleure constitution politique est celle qui fait une place aux ânes, comme celle des Athéniens, ainsi qu'on voit chez Aristophane. Ceux qui ne savent pas supporter ces ânes sont encore plus ânes qu'eux «car ils sont étrangers dans la ville où ils doivent passer toute leur vie»; c'est la faute des parents qui ne leur ont pas appris à vivre; on leur enseigne grammaire et autres disciplines, mais non le nécessaire: LA VERTU EST SA PROPRE RÉCOMPENSE. — ELLE EST LE BUT DE L'HOMME DE BIEN. — IL N'Y A PAS DE GRAND NOM QUI NE SOIT JALOUSÉ. — LES ÂNES SONT PARFOIS PRÉFÉRÉS À TOUS LES AUTRES. — IL PEUT SE FAIRE QU'ILS DÉTIENNENT LE POUVOIR SOUVERAIN. — PARTOUT ON RENCONTRE L'ANIMAL ÂNE. (pp. 35-44).

De l'âne-ignorance on passe à l'âne-servitude agréée; exemples divers en Grèce (pp. 44-56). Puis c'est une violente critique du Haut-Empire romain: servitude imposée par Jules César, divinisé après sa mort: «Sa liberté éteinte, le Peuple Romain, jadis la tête du monde, prit spontanément ce qui est le plus à l'opposé d'une tête, les vertus et la forme d'un âne, soit par un mouvement fatal de l'histoire et surtout des empires, soit par la colère de Dieu» (pp. 58-59). «Si César avait vu le premier une comète sur un mur ou des boeufs dans le ciel ou des ânes volants, aussitôt le peuple romain aurait donné son assentiment avec une interprétation servile et ridicule. Car la servitude est un état sans raison ni conscience (*bruta ac sine sensu*) qu'on pourrait appeler léthargique. Et j'ai l'intention ferme et arrêtée, si le jour fatal et suprême ne s'oppose pas à cette tâche, de réserver pour ma vieillesse une œuvre unique dans laquelle mon dessein est de représenter non point les métamorphoses ineptes chantées par les poètes, mais celles, illustres et insignes, des Républiques avec leurs causes et surtout comment Sparte et Athènes, puis les Romains, auxquels on doit ici la première place, firent de l'homme un animal» (p. 60). C'est ensuite Auguste; proche de la mort il demanda s'il avait bien joué la comédie, mais nul n'eut l'à-propos de lui répondre sur le même ton. «Avec la liberté ils avaient perdu son principal fruit, la gaîté (*festivitas*)» (p. 63). Tibère laisse au sénat le soin de débattre du

lieu de naissance de Diane et d'Apollon, «tant sont rares partout ceux qui savent que la superstition est pour les ignorants une religion, pour les autres un instrument de pouvoir. Et comme ils étaient tels, ils ne comprenaient même pas que seuls à cette époque étaient heureux ceux qui étaient ou paraissaient des ânes: le plus profond secret sous les tyrans. Et surtout sous celui-ci, dont nul n'évitait les pièges, à moins de ne pas les comprendre, ou, ce qui s'en rapproche le plus, d'en avoir l'air; sous qui personne ne s'élevait, à moins d'être caché derrière l'apparence d'un âne. Car la plupart des autres ou bien étaient fougueux et obstinés ou bien, ce qui n'était pas moins mortel, flattaient ouvertement» (p. 70). «Car pendant le règne de Tibère, ceux qu'entourait la réputation d'une extrême vertu ou perversité, ainsi que les gens illustres et opulents, étaient aussitôt atteints par le poignard de Sa Majesté.²⁸ Quant à ceux qui étaient plus prudents, comme la réputation de renard n'était pas utile sous un prince aussi rusé, c'est celle d'âne qui conférait les dignités (ce que même l'écrivain florentin n'a pas noté²⁹). Armés d'elle seule contre les délateurs et la malveillance, ils prenaient congé librement dans leur vieillesse» (p. 71).³⁰ Puis défilent les règnes de Caligula, Claude, Néron: «Il n'y a rien de léger ou de menu dans la servitude: une fois éteinte la liberté, elle n'admet jamais rien de modéré» (p. 75). Virgile, Ovide, Horace ont loué les tyrans; Lucain, Martial, Sénèque louent la liberté et flattent les tyrans; les poètes modernes (Naugerius, Flaminius, Sannazar, Pontano, Bembo, Vida, Fracastor, Cotta) ne s'occupent que des mots; sous l'Empire on ne pouvait écrire qu'avec obscurité et ambiguïté; il fallait être non âne, mais renard. La nourrice des jumeaux³¹ devait être une ânesse plutôt qu'une louve; l'âne était consacré à Mars; aux fêtes des *Consualia* et des *Vestalia* on honorait les ânes (pp. 76-95). Il n'est pas dit, mais on comprend que la satire des Romains vise aussi ceux d'aujourd'hui.

Certains d'entre eux attaquent «par des écrits vénéneux, par des chariots d'insultes Vénitiens et Bataves qui sont en notre temps les plus attachés à la liberté» (pp. 96-97). Les écrivains vénitiens ne cessent de se moquer des peuples passivement esclaves, avant tout des Enéades, leurs parents, qui depuis plus de 1600 ans n'ont connu la liberté que dans

²⁸ La Majesté n'est plus celle du peuple romain, mais de l'empereur avec ses sicaires.

²⁹ Machiavel dans ses *Discours sur la 1^e décade de Tite-Live*; cf. p. 78 manchette.

³⁰ *Sponte ac senes discedebant* «ils quittaient la vie (se suicidaient) dans leur vieillesse de leur propre mouvement», non sur ordre et dans la force de l'âge.

³¹ Si les jumeaux Romulus et Rémus ont eu une ânesse pour nourrice, cela expliquerait que les Romains, descendants de Romulus, aient eu une âme d'ânes, c'est-à-dire d'esclaves.

l'œuvre de Tite-Live. Heinsius trace un parallèle entre l'histoire de Rome, une décadence, et celle de Venise, restée immuablement libre grâce à sa constitution mixte. Les Vénitiens ont les premiers fait renaître les lettres (pp. 100-1). Sur les Bataves Heinsius réfute l'adage «oreille batave» dû à un Espagnol³²; il loue l'Université, l'attachement des Bataves à la liberté; leur lenteur a des modèles antiques; d'ailleurs «Il n'y a aucune nation, aujourd'hui ou jadis, qui ne reproche aux autres de la stupidité, ou, ce qu'on veut synonyme, quelque chose d'asinien dans sa vie ou sa mentalité. On sait ce qu'aujourd'hui les Français pensent des Belges et ceux-ci de ceux-là, etc.» (p. 105). Il y a quelques années Heinsius fut amené, au cours d'un voyage, à faire l'éloge des Belges, il rapporte avec de longues citations, une discussion sur Espagnols et Flamands où il est question du Nouveau Monde, du duc d'Albe et de la guerre (pp. 107-18). Il parle ensuite d'Henri le Grand assassiné, de la France, de l'Allemagne, et dresse un tableau de la situation politique internationale.³³

Retour au sujet: «tout ce que la nature a refusé aux autres espèces, elle semble l'avoir accordé comme une bonne mère à l'âne seul». Il est pour l'homme un trésor: son crâne, sa rate, ses reins, ses excréments, sa viande aimée par Mécène, son esprit, voisin de celui de l'homme; son nom grec a servi à former celui de certaines plantes (mais les modernes ignorent le grec à l'exception de Scaliger;³⁴ des Italiens Filelfe, Beroalde, Barbaro; des Français Alciat, Cujas, Budé, Lefèvre, Rondelet, Fernel; des Germains Erasme, Reuchlin). Il y a des unions sexuelles fécondes entre homme et ânesse, à preuve certains auteurs contemporains issus de telles unions! (pp. 120^{er}-139). Puis l'âne chez les Hébreux (Bible et Cabale), dans l'histoire religieuse, chrétienne ou antique, chez les anciens Romains qui le préféraient à tous les animaux. Suite désordonnée de particularités de l'âne d'après les auteurs anciens (pp. 139-54). Énumération d'adages où figure l'âne (la plupart sont déjà chez Erasme, nos 3738, 443, 3047, 335, 1104, 442, 441, 612, 2414, 335, 2159, 379, 2441, 252, 2239, 3636, 1648, 266, 2055), d'autres non, comme *Asinus immittit caput* (cf. 2), *Piger ultra asinum*, *Vultum circumferre asini*, *Malo asino invehitur* cités sans être expliqués (pp. 155-6). Anecdotes sur l'âne, erreurs commises à son sujet par des grammairiens, des traducteurs de la Bible; l'alphabet hébraïque; Cadmus arrivant en Grèce a-t-il rencontré d'abord un âne ou un bœuf? Noms de familles romaines tirés de celui

³² Martial 6, 82, 4; c'est l'adage 3535 d'Erasme (LB II 1083 F).

³³ Il y a erreur de pagination, se suivent: 118, 119, 120, 119, 120, 121, 120, 123.

³⁴ Quel Scaliger? plutôt Jules-César d'après les dates des autres personnages cités.

de l'âne. Noms de l'âne en grec. Questions posées aux grammairiens, théologiens, médecins, légisconsultes, astrologues, philosophes de la nature et critiques (pp. 157-79).³⁵

La sagesse de l'âne est supérieure à celle de beaucoup d'hommes. Il ignore les passions et supporte la douleur comme les stoïciens. Il sait que le sage, même sous la torture, est parfaitement heureux. Il pratique le «*Nil admirari*», «lui que ni tableaux peints avec art, ni élégance d'un mot ou d'un geste, ni gravité dans le discours ou majesté dans le poème ou sublimité dans l'esprit n'émeuvent ou n'entraînent. Toutefois c'est le seul point où il ait aujourd'hui de nombreux confrères». On dit que le sage n'a pas d'opinion.³⁶ L'âne n'a jamais d'opinion. Surtout quand il reçoit des coups. Mais porter des fardeaux, recevoir des coups, être tiré, l'âne sait (c'est le premier et le plus utile précepte du Portique) que cela fait partie des choses qui ne sont pas en notre pouvoir et qu'il faut supporter jusqu'au bout. A moins qu'en ce qui concerne les passions, l'âne ne soit plus proche d'Aristote qui estime que plusieurs d'entre elles sont la matière ou l'anse de la vertu; donc il faut les diriger vers celle-ci, et non les retrancher; certaines sont bonnes par elles-mêmes et naturelles, comme l'amour de ses enfants, si généreux chez notre héros que lorsque les siens sont pris dans un incendie il va les y chercher.³⁷ Il ignore la colère. Il est courageux autant que cela est nécessaire. Il est toujours doux, d'humeur égale. Contre la colère il est le meilleur précepteur. A Rome, au temps de nos pères, des gens de cour instituèrent des collèges dans lesquels ils échangeaient insultes et reproches avec cette règle que le premier à se mettre en colère serait puni. «Il n'y a rien de plus grand et de plus difficile que de maîtriser les passions de l'âme et ses premiers mouvements, auxquels souvent succombent de grands personnages; aucun ne surpasse l'âne à qui sa vertu et la nature ont accordé cette prérogative. Au même précepteur je voudrais qu'on renvoie aussi les Sophistes de n'importe quelle secte³⁸ dont tous les gens modérés, même parmi ceux-là, détestent les malédictions, les outrages et les calomnies. Quiconque est si peu que ce soit en désaccord avec eux, même s'il est au-dessus de tout éloge et de toute critique, ne peut éviter d'être traité de putassier, ivrogne, bouffon, nullité et surtout, même s'il les surpasse de beaucoup en savoir, d'incompétent en théologie. Comme

³⁵ Les «critiques» sont les philologues qui établissent le texte des auteurs anciens.

³⁶ «Le sage n'a pas d'opinion»: Cic. *Mur.* 62.

³⁷ Plin. *Nat.* 8, 169 qu'Erasmus utilise *Ad. 2601 Scarabeus aquilam quaerit* (LB 881 A).

³⁸ Les théologiens de toutes tendances chrétiennes, protestants ou catholiques.

si c'était un art libéral ou une partie de la discipline céleste d'insulter ou comme si l'infamie retombait sur d'autres que sur eux-mêmes» (pp. 180-2). L'âne «ignore toute compétition, toute rivalité même scolaire». Pourtant «il n'y a rien que je souhaiterais moins, si l'occasion s'en présentait, que d'être mis aux prises avec un âne» car sa simple vue lui gagnerait l'auditoire, puisque son ombre déjà a suffi! «Il ne s'attache pas aux hérésies et ne les répand pas. Il ne recommande la paix à personne, mais la respecte. Même esclave, il n'envie à personne sa liberté; même malheureux, à personne sa félicité, contrairement à l'usage des hommes» qui souvent, prisonniers, aident à faire d'autres prisonniers, «tant pour la plupart il n'y a rien de plus plaisant dans l'esclavage que d'être esclave avec d'autres» (pp. 183-4). «De même que le fondement du stoïcisme est l'*apathie* (absence de passions), de même celui du cynisme, qui imite le plus la nature, c'est, croit-on, l'*adiaphorie* (indifférence: vertu de celui qui se contente indifféremment de n'importe quoi) dont les signes sont: coucher sur le sol, errer sans domicile fixe ni foyer, pratiquer l'amour au grand jour et d'autres conduites de ce genre qu'un Chien généreux, croit-on, inventa parmi les hommes. Je ne vois pas pourquoi l'âne en serait incapable. Le blé, le chardon, l'orge, le son ou toutes ces choses minables équivalent bien aux lentilles de l'autre. Quant à la main avec laquelle, sa coupe rejetée, celui-ci apprend à puiser l'eau, nous n'en faisons aucun cas; car notre client est plus économe: sa bouche lui suffit pour faire passer dans son estomac l'eau pure, coulant comme elle est sortie de sa mère.»³⁹ (p. 185). L'âne l'emporte sur les cyniques en ce qu'il n'a qu'une peau dont il ne change pas; il n'a pas de cortège de disciples; il n'a pas besoin de tonneau pour dormir. Les cyniques sont dépourvus de pudeur, tandis que les ânesses sur le point d'accoucher se cachent. L'âne n'a ni inquiétude ni souci: c'est la tranquillité d'âme d'Epicure, la εὐεστώ de Démocrite.⁴⁰ Sa pureté d'âme est attestée par ses rêves agités où il remue ses pattes⁴¹, mais ce n'est pas pour scander des vers; c'est parce qu'il rêve de l'ombre d'un âne. Celle-ci aujourd'hui excite et occupe l'Europe entière; «de là tant de controverses sur des choses de rien, tant de niaiseries qui souvent croissent et se

³⁹ «Chien»: Diogène (Diog. Laert. 6, 2, 6, 37); lentilles: «figues sèches» (*Ibid.* 26)? Mère de l'eau: la terre. Indifférence (ἀδιαφορία) et impassibilité (ἀπάθεια) sont deux notions stoïciennes: Cic. *Ac. priores* 2, 42, 130.

⁴⁰ *Tranquillitas animi* n'est pas proprement épicurien (cf. Sénèque); *voluptas* n'est pas une déformation d'εὐταραξία: erreur sur Diog. Laert. 9, 7, 12, 45; εὐεστώ, synonyme d'εὐθυμία, *id.* 9, 7, 13, 45.

⁴¹ Plin. *Nat.* 8, 169.

développent jusqu'à la guerre et au sang» (pp. 186-88). On ne sait pas bien ce qu'il pense de la mort sinon qu'il craint quelque chose d'elle. Il meurt comme fit Alexandre de Macédoine: après avoir expiré il cesse de vivre. Ses funérailles sont sans apparat ni pompe, d'où l'adage hébreu: «funérailles d'âne.»⁴² Après sa mort il donne naissance à des frelons, animal irritable, comme le savent bien ceux qui prennent part aux controverses sophistiques. Conclusion: l'âne est le meilleur des animaux, «il ne faut pas douter que chez les hommes, soit par la fréquentation de l'animal, soit par un amour muet pour lui, soit pour une raison fatale et secrète, ceux qui se rapprochent le plus de l'animal, sont souvent préférés aux autres. On rira de grand cœur de ceux que cela attriste et qui s'en plaignent. Soi-même, assuré et tranquille, on supportera avec constance ce qu'on ne peut modifier, appuyé sur la sagesse seule que ne troublent ni les sots jugements des hommes ni le malheur du siècle. Je peux l'attester à mon sujet, je ne suis jamais plus hardi et fier que lorsque je comprends les propos et les jugements sur moi de mes rivaux. Car de même que jadis Pythagore déduisait correctement la taille d'Hercule à partir de la mesure et de la longueur de sa plante des pieds,⁴³ je pense qu'on peut mesurer le mérite des grands hommes à la grandeur de l'envie qu'ils suscitent. Mais on ne parvient à cet état d'âme que progressivement, cela aussi j'avoue en avoir fait l'expérience. Et j'ai maintes fois déploré l'absence de cette sagesse chez des hommes éminents de notre temps, qui, oublieux de Socrate⁴⁴, négligent souvent les très grands personnages qui les ont provoqués et déversent leur bile contre le troupeau des ânes, assez semblables à un Grec qui, après avoir frappé un ânier, comme celui-ci affirmait qu'il était Athénien de patrie, se tourna de toutes ses forces contre l'âne: «Toi, en tout cas, fit-il, tu n'es pas Athénien»; ne pouvant se réclamer d'aucune tribu, d'aucun peuple, il fut roué de coups de bâton à satiété.⁴⁵ Pour moi, je me suis loyalement acquitté de ce que je devais à un animal si important» (pp. 188-90). Heinsius explique alors l'origine de cette œuvre (voir le début de l'analyse). Enfin: «Nous ne doutons pas qu'un jour viendra (bien que ces guerres si cruelles menacent de ravager et détruire toute culture) où les érudits remercieront ceux qui ont rendu d'éclatants services à chaque discipline. Vous on ne saura même pas que vous avez jamais existé ou si, avec mon aide et

⁴² Cf. *Jérémie* 22, 19.

⁴³ Aulu-Gelle 1, 1.

⁴⁴ Diog. Laert. 2, 5, 6, 22.

⁴⁵ Plut. *De cohibenda ira* 12, 461 A.

ma recommandation, votre nom un jour y parvient, toute la postérité reconnaîtra que vous étiez les princes des ânes» (pp 192-3).

Ce discours est inégal; de longues pages sont remplies d'anecdotes, de jeux érudits, de citations; leur nombre lasse un peu. Pourtant on admire l'étendue du savoir; par exemple à la différence des deux auteurs précédents Heinsius connaît l'hébreu et la Cabale. Il prend âne tantôt au sens propre, tantôt au sens figuré et dans ce cas soit avec sa valeur péjorative usuelle, soit, comme l'annonce le titre, avec une valeur élogieuse, mais d'un éloge ambigu puisqu'on découvre vite qu'il signifie servitude satisfaite aussi bien que sagesse. Deux passages sont particulièrement réussis; le premier est la satire de l'Empire romain; déjà Erasme dans la Préface à son édition de Suétone (Allen n° 586, l. 162-68) avait tracé un tableau sévère de ce despotisme: «O condition misérable et déplorable de ces époques! l'autorité du sénat étouffée, les lois étouffées, la liberté du peuple romain étouffée, l'univers était asservi à un prince ainsi désigné, le prince lui-même asservi à ceux que nul homme honnête ne voudrait avoir chez lui comme serviteurs. L'empereur était craint par le sénat, et il redoutait cette foule de soldats: l'empereur donnait des lois aux rois, mais des lois lui étaient données par des soldats mercenaires.» Valla dans sa *Donation de Constantin* avait dénoncé l'usurpation impériale. Les sources de Heinsius, Tacite et Suétone, l'amènent à évoquer non point le pouvoir des soldats, mais la lâcheté des citoyens qui acceptent la servitude. Il y a des maximes et des pages magnifiques. Le deuxième passage qui se détache de cet ensemble kaléidoscopique est vers la fin l'âne comme allégorie de la sagesse, stoïcienne ou cynique; mais parfois on hésite: dans un même développement, voire une même phrase, l'ironie change de degré et l'on se demande si l'indifférence aux événements, à l'opinion et aux vicissitudes sociales est sagesse ou sottise? L'âne de Heinsius est plus complexe que ceux d'Erasme et de Passerat. Tous trois sont bien différents de l'âne de Bruno qui apparaît comme «l'âme du monde» car «il est tout dans tout, et tout dans n'importe quelle partie⁴⁶». Dans le Nord on s'en tient à la satire sociale, à la morale et, chez Heinsius, à l'histoire et à la réflexion politique.

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⁴⁶ Bruno, *Cabala* p. 843, cité par N. Ordine *Le mystère de l'âne. Essai sur Giordano Bruno* (Paris, 1993), p. 99.

EINE TÜBINGER MAGISTERPRÜFUNG IM JAHR 1509

Bei den jungen Menschen, die im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert den Magistergrad an einer Universität erwarben, sind uns zwar die wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen bekannt, die sie studieren mußten, und auch die Bücher, die sie dafür zu lernen hatten,¹ aber die konkreten Prüfungsanforderungen und die aktuellen Prüfungsleistungen bleiben dunkel. Daher ist ein noch nicht beachteter handschriftlicher Text sehr willkommen: es ist eine Rede, die im Jahr 1509 an der Universität Tübingen zur Erlangung des Magistergrades gehalten wurde. Wir können damit zum ersten Mal in ein Dokument Einsicht nehmen, das uns genau zeigt, was man in einer Universität wie Tübingen in vorreformatorischer Zeit von einem Magisterkandidaten erwartete und was er leistete.²

Es handelt sich um die Magisterrede von Wolfgang Richart bzw. Reichart, der sich später lateinisch meist Rychardus nannte.³ Er war am 3. Februar 1486 in der zum Territorium der Reichsstadt Ulm gehörenden Stadt Geislingen als Sohn eines Wirts geboren worden und hatte seinen ersten Unterricht in Geislingen von dem lateinischen Dichter und Priester

¹ Vgl. z. B. im Hinblick auf den folgenden Fall die Bestimmungen in den Statuten der Artistenfakultät der Universität Tübingen von 1505, ediert in: R. von Roth, *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Universität Tübingen aus den Jahren 1476-1550* (Tübingen, 1877, ND Aalen, 1973) Ss. 320-375.

² J. Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537*, 2 Bde. (Stuttgart, 1927-1929), II, 34, erklärt zwar: «Promotionsreden sind nicht wenige erhalten, eine ganze Anzahl z. B. von Wendelin Steinbach». Aber die von Haller, Ss. 67-70, aufgeführten «Promotionsreden» des Theologieprofessors Steinbach sind einerseits seine Rede zum Lob der Theologie, die er bei seiner Promotion zum Baccalaureus theologiae 1486 hielt, andererseits Reden anlässlich von theologischen Promotionen anderer. Eine Prüfungsrede für die Promotion zum Magister artium ist meines Wissens zumindest aus Tübingen noch nicht veröffentlicht worden.

³ Zu seinem Namen und seiner Biographie vgl. W. Ludwig, 'Zur Familie und Biographie des Ulmer Humanisten Wolfgang Reichart', *Genealogie*, 22/43 (1994), 263-72; ders., 'Nachtrag zur Biographie und Familie von Dr. med. Wolfgang Reichart', *Genealogie*, 22/44 (1995), 404; ders. 'Der Ulmer Humanist Rychardus und sein totes Kind — Humanismus und Luthertum im Konflikt', *Daphnis*, 24 (1995), 263-99. Die Biographie Reicharts in dem Aufsatz von W. Reichle, 'Der Ulmer Stadtarzt und Humanist Wolfgang Rychard', *Ulm und Oberschwaben*, 45/46 (1990), 162-90, weist zahlreiche Fehler und spekulative Ergänzungen auf.

Johannes Kessler genannt Casselius (um 1463-1517) erhalten, der ein Freund des Tübinger Professors für Poesie Heinrich Bebel und durch sein 1480 mit dem Baccalaureat abgeschlossenes Studium an der Universität Heidelberg ein Schüler Jakob Wimpfeling's war.⁴ Am 19. Juni 1500 war Reichart — 14-jährig — an der Universität Tübingen immatrikuliert worden, wo ihm nach eigener Aussage Heinrich Bebel der liebste Lehrer war,⁵ während ihm das Studium der Logik Widerwillen erregte.⁶ Er wurde 1502 Baccalaureus und scheint nicht lange danach wegen einer frühen Heirat die Universität verlassen zu haben. 1507 ist er Lateinschulmeister in der zum Herzogtum Württemberg gehörenden Stadt Blaubeuren. Er entschloß sich dann jedoch, die Promotion zum Doctor Medicinæ anzustreben, um sich eine einträglichere berufliche Laufbahn zu eröffnen, und unterzog sich zu diesem Zweck 1509 zunächst in Tübingen der Magisterprüfung, die er als Erstplatzierter seines Jahrgangs bestand. Im Jahr 1512 wurde er in Freiburg zum Doctor Medicinæ promoviert und 1513 als Stadtarzt in Ulm angestellt, was er bis zu seinem Tod nach 1546 blieb (vermutlich starb er an der Pest im Jahr 1547).

Im Jahr 1534 stellte er in einem handschriftlichen *libellus* von 84 Quartblättern eine Anzahl lateinischer Briefe und Gedichte zusammen, die er geschrieben oder erhalten hatte. Unter sie stellte er auch seine Magisterrede. Nach seinem Tod wurde diese Sammlung, die möglicherweise als Autograph vorliegt, aus seinem Nachlaß durch weitere Briefe und Gedichte von ihm und an ihn auf einen Quartband von 336 Blättern erweitert, der im achtzehnten Jahrhundert in die Briefsammlung des

⁴ Vgl. O. Herding - D. Mertens, *Jakob Wimpfeling, Briefwechsel* (München, 1990), S. 534, W. Ludwig, 'Der Ulmer Humanist' (wie Anm. 1) und ders., 'Graf Eberhard im Bart, Reuchlin, Bebel und Johannes Casselius', *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 54 (1995), 33-60.

⁵ Vgl. zu ihm zuletzt K. Graf, 'Heinrich Bebel (1472-1518) — Wider ein barbarisches Latein', in P. G. Schmidt, Hrsg., *Humanismus im deutschen Südwesten, Biographische Profile* (Sigmaringen, 1993), Ss. 179-94; D. Mertens, 'Bebels Einstand', in W. Schmieder u. a., Hrsg., *Aus südwestdeutscher Geschichte, Festschrift für Hans-Martin Maurer* (Stuttgart, 1994), Ss. 307-24. Die Beziehungen von Reichart zu Bebel werden an anderer Stelle eine nähere Betrachtung finden.

⁶ Diese humanistische und antischolastische Einstellung geht aus einem Brief hervor, den er am 1. Juli 1522 seinem damals für sein Baccalaureat in Tübingen studierenden Sohn Zeno schrieb (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Sup. ep. 4^o, 49, Bl. 108v-109r): «... Dialectices studium tibi tedio esse auguror. Nam itidem mihi acciderat, cum tuam aetatem agerem. Tubingae iussu patris bonas literas addiscere debebam, omnes nervos in poetica intendebam neglectis logicis. Tanta erat in stomacho meo erga syllogismos nausea, quae res magno mihi labori cessit et impedimento. Nam cum iam in medio medicae artis campo deambularem, cogebar simul physica et logica legere, quo me non in omni lapide deerrare facerem.»

Frankfurter Patriziers Konrad Zacharias von Uffenbach und 1767 schließlich in die Stadtbibliothek von Hamburg, die Vorgängerin der heutigen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, gelangte, wo er sich heute noch — unter der Signatur Sup. ep. 4°, 49 — befindet.⁷ Auf den Blättern 89r - 90v liest man folgenden — hier erstmals edierten — Text (die Orthographie wurde beibehalten, die Interpunktion modernisiert, die Gliederung in Abschnitte eingeführt; Buchtitel und Zitate wurden kursiv hervorgehoben):

Oratio Wolfgangi Rychardi, quam fecit in gymnasio Tubingensi
pro insignibus magisterii consequendis.

[1] Non sum nescius, patres sapientissimi, magna doctrina, solerti ingenio, studiosissima praeterea dicendi exercitatione opus esse his, qui hunc tam augustum, tam amplum locum cum honore ac dignitate ascendere nituntur ac deliberant, cum nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio industriaque elaboratum afferendum, nemo sit, qui non intelligat. Ego tamen hodie in celeberrimum vestrum conspectum et coronam huc prodivi, fretus non eloquentia mea, non ingenio, sed benivolentia vestra et humanitate, sperans atque etiam obsecrans, ut me vel minus idonee loquentem aequis auribus accipere veniamque pro errato benigniter impartiri dignemini.

[2] Cum nihil sine deorum adminiculo atque ope perfici possit, deum optimum maximum hisce imploro carminibus:

- Spiritus et fili, genitor quoque summe deorum,
nomina trina quidem, sed tamen une deus,
a te nostra venit tamquam de fonte Minerva,
te sine conatus coeptaue nostra nihil.
- 5 Hunc mihi praesentem digneris reddere coetum
auditu facilem iudicioque pium.
- Et iam progressam solita pietate carinam
dirige, ne Scyllam forte subire queat.

[3] Assignaverunt mihi nuper praeceptores mei colendissimi librum *Metaphysices* Aristotelis, in quo absolute et quidditative [cd.: quittitative]

⁷ Zu Reicharts Briefen und Gedichten und ihrer Überlieferung vgl. W. Ludwig, 'Aliquot epistolae ac epigrammata doctoris Vvolfgangi Rychardi medici et ad hunc aliorum — die Edition der Korrespondenz des Ulmer Humanisten und Stadtarztes Wolfgang Reichart', *Chloe, Beihefte zum Daphnis*, (1997, demnächst erscheinend). Ich danke dem Direktor der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg für die freundliche Genehmigung, in der vorliegenden Untersuchung Texte aus der Handschrift Sup. ep. 4°, 49, erstmals zu veröffentlichen.

determinatur de omnibus entibus, secundum quod sint entia, et dividitur in duodecim libros partiales; in primo ostendit, circa quae versatur illa scientia; et subdividitur in prohoemium et tractatum; dicitque primo sic: *Omnes homines naturaliter scire desyderant, unde ipsum videre prae omnibus elegimus, quia hic quidem sensuum maxime cognoscere nos facit multasque nobis differentias demonstrat.*

[4] Ex quo textu illam moveo quaestionem, utrum inter omnes sensus visus sit nobilior et ad scientias acquirendas magis utilis.

[5] Pro parte negativa arguo sic: Ille sensus plus conducit ad acquirendam scientiam, cuius privatio magis facit ignorantes. Sed sic est de auditu. Minor [cd.: Mmor] est philosophi in *De sensu et sensato*, ubi inquit, quod *caeci a nativitate habentes auditum sunt prudentiores quam surdi habentes visum*. Item Averrois [sic] super primo *Metaphysices* auditum scientiae ianuam appellat. Idem dicit Constantinus, inquires: *auditum absurdari est pro maiori parte mentem auferri; unde philosophi quidam auditum mentis portam vocavere*. Haec ille.

[6] Sed pro parte constructiva: Est Aristoteles in textu iam recitato dicens: *ipsum videre prae omnibus eligimus, quia hic sensuum maxime nos cognoscere facit et multas nobis differentias ostendit*. Ille enim sensus plus ancillatur et servit animae in eo, quod eius organum plus indicat dispositiones et mores animae. Sed sic est de visu. Maior elicitur ex gentili super tertia tertii [cd.: 3a 3i]. Minor est Avicennae primo *De animalibus* dicentis: *inter omnia membra oculi maxime significant mores animae*.

[7] Et quoniam huius quaestionis rationes et anfractus maiorem in modum me accipitem reddunt, elegi mihi venerabilem philosophum, Magistrum Wolfgangum Bebelium, ut ipse pro sua in me singulari benivolentia hac de re suam sententiam in publicum proferre velit.

[8] Hanc quaestionem ego Wolfgangus Rychardus in Tubingensi gymnasio pro magisterii insignibus recitavi Henrico Winckelhofer rectore et Magistro Michaelae Mögling ex Urach decano die Lunae post divisionem apostolorum, quae erat dominica anno 1509.

Ein heutiger Leser wird zunächst wohl über die Kürze dieser Prüfungsleistung am 16. Juli 1509 überrascht sein. Vielleicht teilt er auch den Eindruck von C. Th. Keim, der der einzige moderne Forscher ist, der sich zu dieser Rede geäußert hat. Ihm stand eine im frühen 19. Jahrhundert hergestellte Ulmer Abschrift des Hamburger Codex zur Verfügung. Keim schrieb 1853 in seiner Abhandlung 'Wolfgang Rychard, der Ulmer Arzt

— ein Bild aus der Reformationszeit':⁸ «Einen gewissen Schlußpunkt der bisherigen Beschäftigungen bildete die Promotion zum Magister in der philosophischen Abtheilung, die er Mont. p. divis. apostol. 1509 unter der Assistenz W. Bebels durch eine übrigens nicht sehr bedeutende Rede über den Vorzug des Gesichtssinns nach Aristoteles erlangte». Keim kommt zwar das Verdienst zu, durch seine umfangreiche Abhandlung die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit Reichart eröffnet zu haben, aber seine Beurteilung der Magisterrede geht über einen ersten subjektiven Eindruck nicht hinaus und verfehlt ihre eigentliche Bedeutung, da genauere Beobachtungen und ein historisch begründetes Urteil fehlen. Um diese Magisterrede als damalige Prüfungsleistung richtig einzuschätzen, ist eine aufksamere Betrachtung nötig. Eine Grundlage dafür soll die folgende Übersetzung geben, in der um des besseren Verständnisses willen bereits einige zu supplierende Namen und Begriffe in eckigen Klammern ergänzt wurden:

Rede Wolfgang Reicharts, die er in der Tübinger Universität hielt
zur Erlangung der Insignien eines Magisters.

[1] Nicht bin ich unwissend, weiseste Väter, darüber, daß eine große Gelehrsamkeit, ein geschickter Geist und außerdem die fleißigste Übung im Reden nötig ist für die, die diesen so erhabenen, so angesehenen Ort mit Ehre und Würde zu besteigen erwägen und trachten, da es niemand gibt, der nicht weiß, daß hierher nur das geistig Vollkommene und fleißig Ausgearbeitete beigebracht werden darf. Dennoch bin ich in euren gefeiertsten Anblick und Kreis hierher nach vorne gekommen, doch nicht im Vertrauen auf meine Beredsamkeit und meinen Geist, sondern im Vertrauen auf euer Wohlwollen und auf eure Menschenfreundlichkeit, hoffend und auch bittend, daß ihr mich, sogar wenn ich weniger passend spreche, mit geneigten Ohren aufzunehmen und mir Verzeihung für meinen Irrtum gnädig zu erteilen würdigt.

[2] Da aber nichts ohne der Götter Unterstützung und Hilfe vollendet werden kann, flehe ich den besten und höchsten Gott mit diesem Gedicht hier an:

Geist und Sohn, höchster Erzeuger auch der Götter, drei Namen zwar, jedoch ein Gott, von dir kommt wie von einer Quelle unsere Minerva, ohne dich sind unsere Versuche, ist unser Beginnen nichts. (5) Mögest du mich würdigen, daß mir diese gegenwärtige Versammlung leichtes

⁸ *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 12 (1853), 307-73 (S. 312).

Gehör und frommes Urteil gibt. Und den schon mit gewohnter Frömmigkeit vorgefahrenen Kiel lenke so, daß er nicht zufällig Scylla zum Opfer fallen kann.

[3] Es teilten mir kürzlich meine hochzuverehrenden Lehrer das Buch der «Metaphysik» des Aristoteles zu, in dem absolut und quiditativ Bestimmungen über alles Seiende getroffen werden — gemäß wessen sie seiend sind — und das in zwölf Teilbücher gegliedert wird; im ersten zeigt er, mit was sich diese Wissenschaft beschäftigt, und es wird untergegliedert in ein Prooemium und einen Traktat; und Aristoteles spricht zuerst so: «Alle Menschen begehren von Natur zu wissen, weshalb wir speziell das Sehen vor allen anderen Sinnen auswählen, da dieser Sinn uns am meisten erkennen läßt und uns viele Unterschiede zeigt».

[4] Aus diesem Text nehme ich nun das Problem, ob unter allen Sinnen das Sehen edler und für den Erwerb der Wissenschaften nützlicher ist [sc. als andere Sinne]. [5] Für den negativen Teil argumentiere ich so: Jener Sinn trägt mehr zum Erwerb der Wissenschaft bei, dessen Verlust uns unwissender macht. Aber so ist es in Hinsicht auf das Hören. Der Untersatz ist [ein Ausspruch] des Philosophen [sc. des Aristoteles] in «Über die Wahrnehmung und das Wahrgenommene», wo er sagt, daß die Blinden, die von Geburt an Gehör besitzen, klüger sind als die Tauben, die sehen können. Ebenso nennt Averroes [in seinem Kommentar] zum ersten Buch der «Metaphysik» das Gehör die Tür der Wissenschaft. Dasselbe sagt Constantinus [Africanus], wenn er sagt: «Das Gehör taub machen bedeutet den Geist zum größeren Teil wegnehmen; deshalb nannten gewisse Philosophen das Gehör das Tor des Geistes». Das sagt jener. [6] Aber für den konstruktiven Teil argumentiere ich so: Aristoteles sagt in dem bereits zitierten Text [sc. am Anfang der «Metaphysik»]: «wir wählen speziell das Sehen vor allen Sinnen aus, da dieser Sinn uns am meisten erkennen läßt und uns viele Unterschiede zeigt». Denn jener Sinn dient der Seele mehr, dessen Organ der Seele die Zustände und Verhaltensweisen mehr anzeigt. Aber so ist es in Hinsicht auf das Sehen. Den Obersatz kann man aus dem Heiden [sc. aus Averroes], und zwar aus [seinem Kommentar] zum dritten [Teil] des dritten [Buches der «Metaphysik»] holen. Der Untersatz ist [ein Ausspruch] des Avicenna, der im ersten Buch von «Über die Tiere» sagt: «Unter allen Gliedern bezeichnen die Augen am meisten die Verhaltensweisen der Seele». [7] Aber da die Überlegungen zu diesem Problem und seine Komplexität mich in größerem Maße unentschieden machen, habe ich mir einen verehrungswürdigen Philosophen, den Magister Wolfgang

Bebel erwählt, damit er selbst entsprechend seinem einzigartigen Wohlwollen mir gegenüber seine Auffassung in dieser Sache der Öffentlichkeit vortragen wolle.

[8] Dieses Problem habe ich, Wolfgang Reichart, in der Universität Tübingen zur Erlangung der Insignien eines Magisters vorgetragen unter dem Rektorat von Heinrich Winckelhofer und dem Dekanat des Magisters Michael Mögling aus Urach am Montag nach der Einteilung der Apostel [15. Juli], die ein Sonntag im Jahr 1509 war.

Vor einer genaueren Interpretation stellt sich die Frage, an welcher Stelle diese Rede innerhalb des Verfahrens der Magisterpromotion stand.⁹ Jährlich fanden zwei Promotionsverfahren statt. Die des Sommers wurde am 15. Juni angekündigt und drei oder vier Tage später eröffnet. Die kandidierenden Baccalaurei (*magistrandi*) hatten sich nach ihrer Anmeldung und ihrer Zulassung durch den Dekan, im vorliegenden Falle war es der Magister Michael Mögling,¹⁰ zuerst einer mündlichen Prüfung durch vier *examinatores* ihres «Weges» zu unterziehen, die durch das Los aus den Magistern der Realisten und der Modernen gewählt worden waren.¹¹ Aufgrund dieser Prüfung wurden die *magistrandi* in

⁹ Vgl. dazu die Bestimmungen in den Statuten von 1505 bei R. von Roth (wie Anm. 1), Ss. 348-67, H. Hofacker, *Der »Liber decanatus« der Tübinger Artistenfakultät 1477-1512* (Tübingen, 1978), und die Darstellung bei J. Haller (wie Anm. 2), I, 96-100, II, 33-34.

¹⁰ Michael Mögling war um 1485 als Sohn des gräflich württembergischen Forstmeisters Johann Mögling genannt Jäger bzw. Heidenmann in Urach geboren worden, imm. Tübingen 1500, Bacc. 1501, Mag. 1503. Er war der ältere Bruder von Amandus Mögling, imm. Tübingen 1503, Bacc. 1504, Mag. 1506, Dekan 1511, I. U. D., herzoglich württembergischer Rat 1526, †1549/59. Die Tübinger Immatrikulations- und Promotionsdaten sind hier und später ohne besonderen Nachweis H. Hermelink, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen*, I (Stuttgart, 1906), entnommen; vgl. außerdem F. F. Faber, *Die Württembergischen Familien-Stiftungen*, Neudruck mit Berichtigungen von A. Rentschler (Stuttgart, 1940), Nr. 30, §2; und W. Pfeilsticker, *Neues Württembergisches Dienerbuch* (Stuttgart, 1957-1974), §667, 2959.

¹¹ Da Johann König aus Öttingen (1486-1534, imm. Freiburg 1505, Bacc. in via antiqua 1506, imm. Tübingen 1509, Mag. 1509, I. U. D. und Professor des kanonischen Rechts 1518, s. E. Zeitler, *Der »Liber conductionum«, das älteste Anstellungsbuch der Universität Tübingen* [Tübingen, 1978], S. 96, und K. K. Finke, *Die Tübinger Juristenfakultät 1477-1534* [Tübingen, 1972], Ss. 201-5) auch im Sommer 1509 magistrierte und er in seiner Autobiographie (gedruckt in: J. Haller (wie Anm. 2), II, 211-224) die Namen seiner *examinatores* mitteilt, sind diese für die *magistrandi* des realistischen Wegs bekannt: Nach dem — für beide Wege zuständigen — Dekan Mag. Michael Mögling (vgl. zu ihm Anm. 10) nennt König folgende *examinatores*: *magister Wendelinus ex Lauffen* (Wendelin Bregel aus Lauffen am Neckar, imm. Heidelberg 1492, Bacc. 1494, imm. Tübingen 1494, Mag. 1495, Bacc. theol. 1509), *magister Andreas Lemp* (Andreas Lempp aus Steinheim an der Murr, imm. Tübingen 1494, Bacc. 1501, Mag. 1504), *magister Caspar Siessking ex Esslingen* (Caspar Süßkind aus Esslingen am Neckar, imm.

einer Rangfolge plazierte (*locatio*) — Reichart schreibt am 22. Februar 1524 in einem Brief an seinen in Ingolstadt für das Magisterexamen studierenden Sohn Zeno,¹² daß er seinerzeit als erster von allen damals Magistrierten in das Magisterbuch (*album*) eingetragen wurde, d. h. die Prüfung als bester bestanden habe.¹³ Der Dekan stellte dann die erfolgreichen Bewerber dem Kanzler — im Sommer 1509 war es zum ersten Mal Dr. iur. utr. Ambrosius Widmann¹⁴ — oder dessen Stellvertreter vor und es wurde der Tag der öffentlichen Prüfung und Promotion festgesetzt, zu dem der Rektor — in diesem Fall Dr. iur. utr. Heinrich Winkelhofer¹⁵ —, der Kanzler und der Dekan alle graduierten und nicht-graduierten Mitglieder der Universität, insbesondere die der Artistenfakultät, in die *aula collegii* einluden.¹⁶ Für diesen Tag — im vorliegenden Fall war es der 16. Juli 1509¹⁷ — hatten die *magistrandi* die Behandlung einer *quaestio* zum öffentlichen Vortrag vorzubereiten und jeweils einen

Tübingen 1502, Bacc. 1503, Mag. 1505), und *magister Thomas Horn ex Feringen* (Thomas Berner/Beringer aus Veringen, imm. Leipzig 1504, Bacc. 1505, imm. Tübingen 1506, Mag. 1507, Med. D. 1511, Professor der Medizin 1513 — ein Erinnerungsfehler bei König). Bei Reichart ist nicht bekannt, welchem »Weg« er angehörte, aber da sowohl sein Geislinger Lehrer Casselius — in Heidelberg — als auch sein Sohn Zeno — in Tübingen — in der Burse der Modernen studierten, hatte er vermutlich auch diese Richtung gewählt.

¹² Zeno Reichart, geboren 1507 in Blaubeuren, Bacc. Tübingen 1523, Mag. Heidelberg 1525, Med. D. 1536 an einer unbekannten, vermutlich italienischen Universität, starb 1543 als Stadtarzt in Judenburg/Steiermark. Ein umfangreicher Briefwechsel zwischen ihm und seinem Vater, dessen Edition zur Zeit vorbereitet wird, ist in dem genannten handschriftlichen Hamburger Band Sup. ep. 4^o, 49, erhalten.

¹³ Hamburg Sup. ep. 4^o, 49, Bl. 156: »Ambas [sc. philosophiam rationalem et naturalem] igitur edisce, ne inter consortes extremum locum occupes! Nam ego, dum magisterii insignia acceptarem, primum locum in albo omnium obtinui, id quod tui alliciendi gratia recito».

¹⁴ Johann Vergenhans genannt Naclerus (1425-1510), Dr. iur. can., war im Frühjahr 1509 aus Altersgründen als Kanzler und Propst von Tübingen durch Ambrosius Widmann (um 1476-1561), Dr. iur. utr., als Kanzler ersetzt worden, vgl. K. K. Finke (wie Anm. 11), Ss. 81-95 und Ss. 176-180.

¹⁵ Zu Heinrich Win(c)kelhofer, dem Sohn des Schwäb. Haller Stadtschreibers Mag. Heinrich Winkelhofer aus Ehingen an der Donau (um 1480-1526, imm. Tübingen 1494, Bacc. 1496, Mag. 1497, Dr. iur. utr. um 1501 wohl in Italien, Richter des Schwäbischen Bundes 1506, Rektor Tübingen 1509, Professor des kanonischen Rechts 1510) vgl. E. Zeitler (wie Anm. 11), S. 108, und K. K. Finke (wie Anm. 11), Ss. 165-169.

¹⁶ Eine gedruckte, von Rektor, Kanzler und Dekan unterzeichnete Einladung zu einer Magisterpromotion im Jahr 1629 ist abgebildet bei H.-M. Decker-Hauff — W. Setzler, *Die Universität Tübingen von 1477-1977 in Bildern und Dokumenten* (Tübingen, 1977), S. 103.

¹⁷ Auch Johann König gibt in seiner Autobiographie (s. Anm. 11) dieses Datum für seine Magisterpromotion an: *XVII Kalendas Augustas in arcium liberalium promotus sum magistrum*.

Magister als *respondens* zu gewinnen, der auf ihre Darlegung zu antworten hatte.¹⁸ Diese Aufgabe erfüllte die vorliegende *oratio* von Wolfgang Reichart, an deren Ende er seinen Respondenten, den Magister Wolfgang Bebel einführt. Dieser war der jüngere Bruder des Poesie-Professors Heinrich Bebel; geboren 1491, war er 1503 in Tübingen immatrikuliert und schon 1504 zum Baccalaureus und 1506 zum Magister ernannt worden.¹⁹ Der Ablauf des Tages der öffentlichen Promotion läßt sich in Analogie zu Angaben erschließen, die Martin Crusius in seinen *Annales Suevici* über den Ablauf einer Baccalaureus-Promotion im Jahr 1499 macht.²⁰ Zuerst wurde eine Eröffnungsansprache gehalten, die das Programm bekanntgab, sodann mußte jeder der *magistrandi* in einer *oratio* seine *quaestio* behandeln, jeweils gefolgt von der *oratio* seines Respondenten zur gleichen *quaestio*, sodann verlas der Pedell den Magistereid, den die *magistrandi* zu schwören hatten, worauf die Insignien des Magistergrades, darunter ein Lorbeerkranz, an die *magistri novelli* verliehen wurden. Der feierliche Akt wurde durch eine Rede des Dekans geschlossen. Da bei jeder derartigen Promotion mehrere Magister kreiert wurden — am 16. Juli 1509 waren es dreizehn — nahm der Vorgang der Magisterpromotion so viel Zeit in Anspruch, daß den Kandidaten für ihre Reden sicher eine Zeitbeschränkung auferlegt werden mußte. Dies erklärt die auffällige Kürze der Rede Reicharts. Da er durch die vorhergegangene Prüfung der Erstplazierte war, dürfte seine Rede die erste dieser Promotion gewesen sein.

Die vollzogene Magisterpromotion wurde in folgender Weise ins Magisterbuch eingetragen (im vorliegenden Fall ist die Datierung auf

¹⁸ Der *magistrandus* (auch genannt *magister novellus*) mußte seinem *respondens* (auch genannt *magister responsalis*) einen halben Gulden als Honorar zahlen (insgesamt betrugen die verschiedenen Gebühren für den Magistergrad etwa 10 Gulden).

¹⁹ Er wurde 1515 Dekan der Artistenfakultät, aber nicht schon 1506 Med. D. (so fälschlich Neue Deutsche Biographie I (1953), S. 685), sondern erst zwischen 1515 und 1523, und danach Stadtarzt in der Reichsstadt Biberach. Er blieb mit Reichart befreundet, vgl. W. Ludwig, 'Der Bruder des Humanisten Heinrich Bebel und der Tübinger Professor Konrad Ebinger', *Südwestdeutsche Blätter für Familien- und Wappenkunde*, 21 (1995), 248-52, und zuvor J. Haller (wie Anm. 2), I, 233 und II, 88.

²⁰ M. Crusius, *Annales Suevici*, Tomus III (Frankfurt, 1595), S. 512: «Ritus creandi Baccalaureos tunc [sc. 1499] hic [sc. Tübingae] erat, ut vidi ex δυσαναγνώστῳ oratione m[anu] scr[ipta]: 1. Exordium ponebatur, seu partitio faciendorum. 2. Candidati quaestiones proponebant et explicabant, ut eo honore digni viderentur. 3. Recitabatur a pedello iuramentum. 4. Attributio honoris vel gradus. 5. Oratio [sc. promotoris] de miseria generis humani, quae rectis studiis emendaretur. Et in alia diversi temporis oratione laus eloquentiae iuvenibus comparandae. 6. Eiusdem promotoris gratiarum actio ad coetum praesentem hoc modo...».

den 15. statt auf den durch das einhellige Zeugnis von König und Reichart belegten 16. Juli vielleicht dadurch bedingt, daß eine eröffnende Zeremonie, möglicherweise ein Gottesdienst, bereits am Sonntag, den 15. Juli stattgefunden hatte):²¹

Ordo magistrorum promotorum sub decanatu venerabilis viri Magistri Michaelis Mögling ex Urach Margarethe anno domini 1509: Wolfgangus Rychart ex Gysslingen, Ioannes Schnell Stutgardiensis [Stuttgart, 1506, B. 1507], Udalricus Zinck Mindelhaimensis [Mindelheim, 1505, B.1506], Andreas Oma ex Esslingen [Ammann aus Esslingen, 1506, B. 1507, wird Lic. iur. can., später Propst in Rheinfelden und Stuttgart], Ioannes Künig Öttingensis [König aus Öttingen, s. Anm. 11], Georg Sigloch ex Baccana [Backnang, 1505, B. 1507], Ioannes Bumaister ex Hagnow [Hagenau im Elsaß, 1509], Andreas Ketz ex Wolfach [Kretz, 1508], Ioannes Kyssenpfering ex Kalw [Calw, 1506, B. 1507], Iohannes Hertzog ex Harbw [Horb am Neckar, 1506, B. 1508], Wolfgangus Daner ex Göppingen [1506, B. 1507, Priester in Göppingen], Ioannes Murer ex Harw [Horb am Neckar, 1506, B. 1507], Nicolaus Winttelinger alias Koch [Koch aus Winterlingen bei Balingen, 1507, B. 1507].²²

Die Promovierten kamen aus dem südwestdeutschen Raum und dem Elsaß, 5 aus dem Herzogtum Württemberg, 3 aus dem Gebiet der Reichsstädte Esslingen, Hagenau und Ulm, 2 aus der österreichischen Grafschaft Hohenberg und je einer aus der Grafschaft Fürstenberg, der Grafschaft Öttingen und der Herrschaft der von Frundsberg. Reichart steht, wie er es später seinem Sohn mitteilte,²³ an erster Stelle. Seine Magisterrede kann also in der Tat als eine repräsentative gute Leistung betrachtet werden.

Einen Schlüssel zu ihrer Interpretation gibt der erwähnte Brief vom 22. Februar 1524.²⁴ Reichart gibt dort, augenscheinlich in Erinnerung an sein eigenes Studium, seinem Sohn Zeno Ratschläge zu den Fächern, die er für sein Magisterexamen studieren soll:

²¹ Aus dem handschriftlichen Magisterbuch, Universitätsarchiv Tübingen 15/11, mit freundlicher Genehmigung zitiert. Die Immatrikulationsjahre, das Baccalaureat, andere Namensformen und Angaben zu den Lebensläufen wurden hier in Klammern hinzugefügt.

²² M. Crusius verzeichnet in seinen *Annales Suevici* (wie Anm. 20), S. 535, Reicharts Magisterpromotion als erste des Jahres 1509 und nennt insgesamt diejenigen zwei Magistrierten dieser Promotion, die später eine gewisse Berühmtheit erlangten, Reichart und König: «Tubing. Cal. Maij, per annum creatus est Rector 59. Henricus Winckelhofer Ehingensis, V. I. Doctor. Inscripti:... Decanus S. Katharinae: Venerab. vir M. Michael Moegling ex Urach. Creati Magistri: VVolfgangus Richart ex Gislingen, Iohannes Kunig Oettingensis, postea hic Professor Iuris».

²³ Vgl. oben Anm. 13.

²⁴ Vgl. oben Anm. 12.

... opinionem illam approbo, scilicet ut philosophiae usque ad magisterium incumbas. Nam illa scholarum doctrina arguendi, disputandi et ordinandi syllogisticam phrasim in omni scientiarum opere methodum praebet, quamvis medica professio multum iuvatur ex physicis corollariis, vice versa forum et ius a logicis et poeticis atque oratoris flosculis opiparum et sapidum redditur. Itaque adhuc est mens mea, quamcunque arripias viam, ut magister fias ad natalem domini, ubi non bene habebis sine utraque philosophia, rationali scilicet atque naturali.... Sed rigorem, quem super physicis studiis tibi iniunxi, modo remitto; sed in poeticam permuto, ita ut dextera oratoriae vices, sinistra vero philosophiae attrahes.

(...ich billige diese Auffassung, nämlich daß du dich bis zu deiner Magisterprüfung auf die Philosophie verlegen solltest. Denn die Schuldoktrin des Argumentierens, Disputierens und der Anordnung der syllogistischen Sätze bietet bei jeder wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit die richtige Methode, auch wenn der medizinische Beruf aus den naturphilosophischen Zusätzen viel Hilfe erfährt, während umgekehrt die iuristische Rede durch die logischen, poetischen und rhetorischen Schmuckstücke prächtig und schmackhaft gemacht wird. Deshalb steht immer noch mein Sinn dahin, daß du, welchen Weg du auch einschlagen wirst, bis Weihnachten Magister wirst, wo es dir ohne beide Philosophien, die rationale und die der Natur, nicht gut gehen wird.... Doch will ich die besondere Anstrengung, die ich dir auf naturphilosophischem Gebiet nahegelegt habe, jetzt zurückstellen und sie mit der für die Poetik vertauschen, so daß du mit der rechten Hand das rhetorische, mit der linken das philosophische Geschäft ergreifst.)

Ganz in diesem Sinn wollte Reichart in seiner Magisterrede seine poetische und rhetorische, seine logische und naturphilosophische Kompetenz zur Darstellung bringen.

Seine poetischen Fähigkeiten stellt er durch das eingelegte Gedicht unter Beweis, ein Gebet in vier elegischen Distichen, das alle Bauelemente eines Hymnus aufweist. Die ersten vier Verse enthalten Anrede und Prädikation, die zweiten vier die Bitte. Das erste Distichon gibt sowohl die Anrede als auch die Definition der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit, wobei die drei göttlichen Personen im Hexameter genannt sind und die Definition mit der Antithese von drei und eins als Apposition in den Pentameter gebracht worden ist. Die Prädikation im zweiten Distichon benützt die kontrastiven Formen einer allegorischen und einer eigentlichen Aussage im Hexameter und im Pentameter, bindet die beiden Verse durch die parallel-antithetischen Satzanfänge *a te* und *te sine* und betont die Vorstellung des von Reichart unternommenen Versuchs durch die Alliteration in dem Doppelausdruck *conatus coeptaque*. In den die Bitte enthaltenden zwei Distichen ist wieder eine eigentliche und eine allegorische Aussageform gewählt, und zwar geht jetzt, anders als zuvor, die

eigentliche der allegorischen voraus. Die beiden allegorisch gebrauchten Begriffe *Minerva* und *Scylla* sind der antiken Mythologie entnommen, damit diese in dem an sich christlichen und aktuellen Gedicht auch ihren Platz hat. Es ist nur ein kleines Gedicht. Aber wenn man den Umfang der gesamten Magisterrede und den Umstand berücksichtigt, daß in der in erster Linie der Philosophie geltenden Magisterprüfung die Poesie nicht notwendigerweise etwas zu suchen hatte, erkennt man, wie wichtig es Reichart gewesen sein muß, in dieser Prüfungsrede auch ein Beispiel für seine *ars versificandi* zu geben, wie er sie bei seinem Lehrer Heinrich Bebel gelernt und seither gepflegt hatte.

Seine rhetorischen Fähigkeiten zeigen sich, was die *inventio* betrifft, in der Gestaltung des *prooemium*, welches das Gedicht einschließt, was die *dispositio* angeht, im Aufbau der Gesamtrede, und hinsichtlich der *elocutio* vor allem im prosaischen Teil des *prooemium*. Darüber hinaus kann auch die als rhetorische Aufgabe geltende Vortragsweise beachtet worden sein.²⁵

Die spezielle Themenangabe hat Reichart aus dem *prooemium* [1-2] in den *tractatus* [3-6] verschoben. Er hat das *prooemium* ausschließlich dazu verwendet, das Wohlwollen seiner Hörer zu gewinnen und sie aufmerksam zu machen. Wie üblich wird der Topos der Bescheidenheit eingesetzt und die Größe und Schwierigkeit der Aufgabe betont. Begabung (*ingenium*), durch fleißiges Studium erworbenes Wissen (*doctrina*) und praktische Übung im Reden (*exercitatio dicendi*) müssen zusammenkommen, um die Aufgabe zu erfüllen. Reichart geht außerdem geschickt den indirekten Weg über die Apostrophe Gottes. Er setzt das Gebet ein, um seine Prüfer aufmerksam und wohlwollend zu stimmen.

Für den Rest der Rede war nicht so sehr rhetorische, als vielmehr philosophische *inventio* notwendig. Die Gesamtdisposition muß jedoch als rhetorische Leistung begriffen werden. Nach dem *prooemium* [1-2] wird in einer *narratio* [3] über das ihm zugeteilte Prüfungsgebiet, die Metaphysik des Aristoteles berichtet, in einer *propositio* [4] das Problem gestellt, ob das Sehen der für die Wissenschaft wichtigste Sinn ist, dann in einer zweigeteilten *argumentatio* [5-6] zuerst im Sinn einer *confutatio* negativ, dann im Sinn einer *confirmatio* positiv

²⁵ Sie wurde z. B. beachtet, wenn das Scholarchat von Schwäb. Hall Schülerreden begutachtete, s. W. Ludwig, 'J. P. Ludwigs Lobrede auf die Reichsstadt Schwäb. Hall und die Schulrhetorik des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch Württembergisch Franken*, 74 (1990), 247-94 (S. 255).

argumentiert, worauf die *conclusio* [7] einerseits das unentschieden gebliebene Resultat festhält, andererseits auf dieser Grundlage den Respondenten einführt.

Ein rhetorischer Test war schließlich auch die *elocutio* des prosaischen Teils des *prooemium*. Während in den Abschnitten [3-6] ein ganz andersartiger philosophischer Sprachstil angewendet wird, enthält der Abschnitt [1] zwei lange, in Wortwahl, Aufbau und Stil völlig ciceronische Perioden mit vielen Doppelungen sowie Alliterationen, Assonanzen, Anaphern, einem Chiasmus und einem dreigliedrigen Ausdruck mit wachsenden Gliedern. Dieser Stil kehrt kurz auch im letzten Abschnitt [7] wieder.

Die Logik, die Reichart in den *Summulae logicales* des Petrus Hispanus zu lernen gehabt hatte, bestimmt formal den Gedankengang in den Abschnitten [4-6]. Nachdem das Problem (*quaestio*) als zu bejahende oder verneinende These gestellt ist (Petrus Hispanus definiert die *quaestio* als eine *dubitabilis propositio*),²⁶ argumentiert Reichart in einem verneinenden und einem bejahenden Teil mit Hilfe eines jeweils gleichartig strukturierten Syllogismus, der der ersten aristotelischen Figur und deren erstem Modus (Barbara) folgt. Er beginnt jeweils mit einem Obersatz (*maior*) nach dem Schema 'P ist M': 'Der wichtigste Sinn ist der Sinn, dessen Verlust unwissender macht als der Verlust anderer Sinne' bzw. 'Der wichtigste Sinn ist der Sinn, der der Seele mehr zeigt als andere Sinne'. Es folgt jeweils ein verkürzt ausgedrückter Untersatz (*minor*): 'So ist es mit dem Hören' bzw. 'So ist es mit dem Sehen', d. h. in Langfassung nach dem Schema 'M ist S': 'Der Sinn, dessen Verlust unwissender macht, ist das Hören' bzw. 'Der Sinn, der der Seele mehr zeigt, ist das Sehen'. Die beiden Untersätze, und im positiven Teil auch der Obersatz, werden anschließend durch Zitate aus wissenschaftlichen Autoritäten belegt, da insbesondere der spezielle Untersatz der Begründung bedarf. Die einander ausschließenden logischen Schlüsse der beiden Beweisgänge (S ist P: Also ist das Hören bzw. das Sehen der wichtigste Sinn) werden nicht mehr eigens formuliert. Als dergestalt verkürzt dargestellte Syllogismen können die Beweisgänge als Enthymeme bezeichnet werden.²⁷ Die Argumentation ist zu einem widersprüchlichen Ergebnis gelangt — durch den Verlust des Hörens verliert man am meisten; durch das Sehen bekommt man am meisten —, so daß die

²⁶ S. I. M. Bochenski, *Petri Hispani Summulae logicales* (Turin, 1947), S. 44.

²⁷ S. I. M. Bochenski (wie Anm. 26), S. 45

quaestio nicht eindeutig beantwortet werden kann und Reichart, wie die dispositionelle *conclusio* [7] feststellt, die Frage offen seinem Respondenten übergeben muß.

Thematisch gehören sowohl das zugeteilte Buch, die Metaphysik des Aristoteles, als auch das ausgewählte, den Wert der Sinne betreffende Problem dem Bereich der Naturphilosophie an. Sie ist für den *magistrandus* das eigentliche Prüfungsfach. Der Kandidat hatte die Aufgabe, aus einem ihm aus diesem Bereich zugeteilten Buch eine *quaestio* zur Behandlung auszuwählen. Die Aufgabe wird in den Statuten der Tübinger Artistenfakultät von 1505 folgendermaßen definiert:²⁸

magister novellus librum suum totalem in partialem dividat, et librum primum in tractatus ac primum tractatum in capitula. Inde suam moveat quaestionem, dimittendo mentem librorum partialium, tractatum et capitulorum singulorum

(der neue Magister soll sein ganzes Buch in einzelne Bücher einteilen und das erste Buch in Traktate und den ersten Traktat in Kapitel. Von da her soll er dann sein Problem nehmen und den Sinn der einzelnen Bücher, Traktate und Kapitel beiseite lassen).

Reichart beschreibt entsprechend dieser Anweisung zunächst den Inhalt der Metaphysik sehr knapp und zwar mit Begriffen, die vermutlich aus der lateinischen Übersetzung des ersten Traktats der Epitome des Averroes zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles stammen:²⁹ dort wird bei Aristoteles eine Betrachtung der allgemeinen Prinzipien des Seienden (*speculatur de ente absolute*) unterschieden von der Frage nach der *quiditas*, der 'Washeit', der einzelnen seienden Dinge, die durch eine Definition nach Gattung und Spezies beantwortet wird; die von Reichart gebrauchte adjektivische bzw. adverbielle Form *quiditative* des in der Scholastik gebildeten Substantivs ist lexikalisch noch nicht belegt, scheint aber eine damals gängige Ausdrucksweise gewesen zu sein. In Übereinstimmung mit den lateinischen Ausgaben der Metaphysik vor 1515 zählt er in ihr zwölf, nicht — wie seit 1515 bis heute — vierzehn Bücher.³⁰ Er charakterisiert anschließend in gleicher Kürze, ohne dabei

²⁸ S. R. von Roth (wie Anm. 1), S. 365, H. Hofacker (wie Anm. 9), S. 94.

²⁹ Verglichen wurde der Text in der Aristoteles-Ausgabe mit dem Kommentar des Averroes, die Venedig 1562 erschien (Bd. 8).

³⁰ Die lateinische Übersetzung des Joannes Argyropoulos umfaßte nur zwölf Bücher; die Übersetzung mit vierzehn Büchern durch Kardinal Bessarion wurde anscheinend zuerst Paris 1515 gedruckt. Die von Reichart benützte Metaphysik-Ausgabe war vermutlich: *Duodecim libri Methaphisice ab Aristotele summo philosophorum principe... Liber primus Metaphisice Aristotelis tractatus continens duos. Primus est prohemialis tria*

über die Angaben im Titel der damaligen Metaphysik-Ausgaben hinauszugehen,³¹ Inhalt und Aufbau des ersten Buchs und entnimmt die These für seine *quaestio* der von ihm verkürzt zitierten Anfangspassage des ersten Buches.³² In der folgenden Argumentation rekurriert er immer wieder auf Sätze aus anderen naturphilosophischen Werken und beweist damit seine Literaturkenntnis. Für den Untersatz des in Hinsicht auf die These der *quaestio* negativen Teils [5] zieht er begründend drei Zitate heran, eines aus dem Anfang der ersten Schrift der *Parva naturalia* des Aristoteles,³³ der hier nur 'der Philosoph' genannt wird, ein zweites aus dem Kommentar zur aristotelischen Metaphysik von Averroes und ein drittes aus einem Werk des Constantinus (sc. Africanus).³⁴ Im für die These der *quaestio* positiven Teil [6] verweist er für den Obersatz nochmals auf den Metaphysik-Kommentar des Averroes, der jetzt als 'der Heide' bezeichnet wird, für den Untersatz auf eine Stelle aus Avicennas Schrift *De animalibus*.³⁵ Naturphilosophische Kompetenz zeigte sich in der Kenntnis und richtigen Verwendung der wissenschaftlichen

habens capitula. Primum est de dignitate et eminentia huius sapientiae... (Leipzig, 1499), GW 2418. Diese Ausgabe wird in dem Bücherverzeichnis der Ingolstädter Artistenfakultät von 1508 genannt, s. den von W. John edierten Katalog in: *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 59 (1942), 381-411, hier Nr. 277: *Duodecim libri methaviseice in utraque translatione cum commento Averrois*.

³¹ Vgl. Anm. 30.

³² In der Metaphysik-Ausgabe von 1499 (wie Anm. 30), lautet diese geringfügig abgeändert wiedergegebene Anfangspassage der Metaphysik (die Übernahmen sind unterstrichen): «Omnes homines natura scire desyderant. Signum autem est sensuum dilectio. Praeter enim utilitatem propter se ipsos diligimur et maxime aliorum, qui est per oculos. Non enim solum, ut agamus, sed et nihil agere debentes ipsum videre prae omnibus, ut dicam, aliis eligimus. Causa autem est, quod hic maxime sensuum nos cognoscere facit et multas differentias demonstrat rerum».

³³ Der alte lateinische Titel der Schrift über die Wahrnehmung ist *De sensu et sensato*, z. B. in einer 1496 in Venedig erschienenen Aristoteles-Ausgabe (später: *De sensu et sensibilibus*). Der aus dem Ende von Kapitel I (Bekker 437a 15) zitierte Satz lautet in der in Anm. 29 angeführten lateinischen Aristotelesausgabe, Bd. 6, 2, Bl. 4v: «*Quare a nativitate privatorum utroque sensu prudentiores sunt caeci muti et surdis*». Reichart benützte vermutlich die Ausgabe, die auch W. John (wie Anm. 30) für Ingolstadt aufführt: Nr. 282 *Textus parvorum naturalium cum commento Averrois* (GW 2427).

³⁴ Vgl. zu Constantinus Africanus (Benediktiner, †1087): H. Schipperges, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 3 (München-Zürich, 1986), Sp. 171. Seine philosophisch-medizinischen *Opera* wurden gesammelt erst Lyon 1515 und Basel 1536 gedruckt: *Constantini Africani... opera... iam primum typis evulgata praeter paucula quaedam, quae impressa fuerunt*. Vorher konnten nur nachgewiesen werden: 1. eine Venedig 1487 in einem Sammelband erschienene lateinische Übersetzung des Galen-Kommentars zu Hippokrates' Aphorismen aus dem Arabischen durch *Constantinus monachus*; 2. ein Venedig 1505 in einem Sammelband erschienenen *Breviarium Constantini dictum viaticum*.

Autoritäten, unter denen Reichart auch weniger bekannte wie Constantinus und Neuerscheinungen wie im Falle Avicennas berücksichtigt.

Reichart wollte in seiner Magisterrede also gewiß Proben seiner Kompetenz in zwei humanistischen und zwei philosophischen Disziplinen geben, auch wenn er offensichtlich einer schwierigeren theoretischen Frage aus der Metaphysik auswich, und seine Prüfer haben seine Leistung dann auch anerkannt, so daß er sie noch 1534 für wert hielt, sie in seine Sammlung aufzunehmen, in der er zeigen wollte, was er in der Dichtung, der Philosophie und der Medizin gekonnt hatte.³⁶ Insofern gibt uns dieses Prüfungsdokument einen guten Einblick in das zu jener Zeit erwartete und erreichte Leistungsniveau bei der das Studium in der Artistenfakultät abschließenden öffentlichen Magisterprüfung. Die Reichart in seinen ersten Studiensemestern bestimmende humanistische und antischolastische Einstellung³⁷ hat in dieser Rede dem Versuch Platz gemacht, die scholastische Aufgabe mit humanistischen Leistungen zu verbinden.

Wir sind, wenn wir die geistesgeschichtliche Situation berücksichtigen, nicht überrascht, daß Reichart seine *quaestio* ausschließlich unter Rekurs auf die wissenschaftliche Literatur diskutierte und persönliche Erfahrungen mit keinem Wort heranzog. Eine solches akademisches Verhalten war zu erwarten. So sind wir vielleicht im Gegenteil überrascht, wenn wir in Erfahrung bringen können, daß es allem Anschein nach persönliche Lebenserfahrungen waren, die Reichart dazu brachten, daß er gerade diese *quaestio* aus der Metaphysik des Aristoteles auswählte.

Seiner überlieferten Korrespondenz läßt sich entnehmen, daß er 1507, zwei Jahre vor seiner Magisterprüfung, wegen einer sich verschlechternden Kurzsichtigkeit äußerst besorgt war und eine kommende Erblindung befürchtete. Er wandte sich damals aus Blaubeuren brieflich an den Ulmer Stadtarzt Dr. med. Johannes Stocker (um 1457-1513), der einen

³⁵ Reichart zitierte hier anscheinend aus einem erst 1508 erschienenen Werk: *Avicennae perhypatetici philosophi ac medicorum facile primi opera in lucem redacta...* *De animalibus...* (Venedig 16. April 1508, Nachdruck Frankfurt, 1961), Bl. 29r: «Incipit liber de animalibus Avicennae super librum de animalibus Aristotelis translatus ab Arabico in Latinum per magistrum Michaellem Scotum...», Liber primus», hier Bl. 29v: «Et inter omnia membra oculi maxime significant mores animae».

³⁶ Hamburg Sup. ep. 4°, 49, Bl. 27r, in einem Brief vom 25. März 1534 an Pater Heinrich, Confessor am Clarissenkloster in Söflingen bei Ulm: «in fasciculum collegi, nondum autem recognovi aliquot epistolia... in quibus, si quid in poetica, philosophia et medicina potui, conatus sum in medium adferre». Unter den aus Reicharts Nachlaß kopierten Briefen befindet sich auch auf Bl. 288v-289r der Gratulationsbrief von Johannes Casselius (vgl. Anm. 4) zu seiner Magisterpromotion, datiert Geislingen, den 22. Juli 1509.

über Ulm hinausreichenden guten Ruf hatte. Stocker hatte sich 1472 in Ingolstadt immatrikuliert, dort den Magistergrad erworben und war dann zum Studium der Medizin nach Italien gegangen, wo er in Bologna zum *Medicinae Doctor* promovierte. Von 1483-1513 war er Stadtarzt in Ulm, wurde außerdem aber auch zeitweise als herzoglich württembergischer und herzoglich bayerischer Leibarzt (seit 1496 bzw. 1503) zur Behandlung an die Höfe in Stuttgart und Ingolstadt gerufen.³⁸ An ihn wandte sich Reichart am 30. September 1507 mit folgendem aus einem Prosatext und einem Gedicht bestehenden Brief, den er wie seine Magisterrede in sein 1534 zusammengestelltes Brief- und Gedichtbuch aufnahm (Hamburg, Sup. ep. 4°, 49, Bl. 39r-40r; der Brief wurde nach denselben Grundsätzen wie die Magisterrede ediert):

Excellentissimo et efficacissimo medico civique Ulmensi dignissimo, doctori Ioanni Stockar doctissimo dominoque suo observando, s[alutem] d[ico] p[lurimam].

[1] Celeberrime domine doctor et medicorum princeps solertissime, dignitatem tuam eximiam per immortalem deum obtestor atque obsecro, ut, qua de re tecum iam ago, petitioni meae morem gerere velis.

[2] Ophthalmia tenebrositatis oculos meos molestat. Etsi adhuc video, parum tamen et praesertim ut alii homines videre non possum. Tres enim visionis modos Galienus posuit, unum eum, quis longe et non prope videt, secundum cum prope et non longe videt, tertium cum nec prope nec longe videt. Ego prope possum videre perfectissime, sed

³⁷ Vgl. oben Anm. 6.

³⁸ Zu Johann Stocker, lateinisch Stockar, der nicht in Ingolstadt am 25. Mai (so W. Pfeilsticker [wie Anm. 10], §340), sondern am 27. Mai 1513 in Ulm starb und seine leibärztliche Tätigkeit für die Herzöge von Württemberg und Bayern immer nur neben seinem stadtärztlichen Hauptberuf in Ulm ausübte, wo er immer ansässig blieb, vgl. H. Klemm, 'Die rechtliche und sociale Stellung der Ärzte in der Reichsstadt Ulm', *Ulm und Oberschwaben* (1929), 3-23; E. Nüßling, *Die Reichsstadt Ulm am Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II (Ulm, 1907), S. 294; H.-M. Decker-Hauff, 'Die Stuttgarter Königsbach', *Südwestdeutsche Blätter für Familien- und Wappenkunde*, 11 (1964), 410-21, und besonders Stadtarchiv Ulm, Handschrift Leopold I, S. 7-13 (mit Kopie der Grabinschrift) und Hamburg, Sup. ep. 4°, 49, Bl. 28-29, 39-46 (Bericht über seinen Tod und Epitaphien von Reichart und Jakob Locher Philomusus). Aus seinem Nachlaß wurden 1520-1634 mehrere deutsche und lateinische medizinische Schriften veröffentlicht (vgl. dazu J. Martin, 'Der Ulmer Wundarzt Johannes Stocker und sein nosologisch gegliedertes Arzneibuch', *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen*, 5 [1987], 85-95). Zu einer Widmung Reuchlins an Stocker s. St. Rhein, 'Reuchlin als Dichter', in: H.-P. Becht, Hrsg., *Pforzheim in der frühen Neuzeit* (Sigmaringen, 1989), Ss. 51-80 (Ss. 57-58).

longius omnino nihil. Ad passum unum pinguissimam etiam scripturam cernere non possum, ut legam. In pueritia tamen longius et perfectius me vidisse certo scio. Quare ille meus defectus, ut puto, non ex paucitate visibilium spirituum causatur, qui per venas duas in medio frontis sese cruciantes ex cerebro ad organum visus deferuntur. Sed fortassis eo, quod frequentissime et continue diu noctuque semper libros lectitavi, inde acies oculorum fatigata et obtusior facta est. Alioqui oculos non doleo nec plus me hodie quam heri, ante quam post meridiem videre sentio. Post unum annum vel duos autem animadverto tenebrosiorem mihi fieri potentiam visivam. Vereor quoque, ne pelliculae olim sint obducturae oculos.

[3] Intellexit tua dignitas, reverendissime domine doctor, morbum meum, nec te lateat aegrotanti praeciosius esse nihil cura et auxilio. Itaque, si perpetua me tibi gratitudine devincire et obligare volueris, fer per immortalem deum opem tuam. Quod si feceris, tanto me commodo donabis, ut maiori in hoc orbe non possis. Hoc mihi gratius erit omni argento, auro gemmisque. Vale, humanissime doctor, et me hac in re atque alias commendatissimum habeto. Et si quid in me est, quod tuae dignitati vel usui vel iucunditati esse queat, id non magis in mea quam in tua potestate positum esse volo. Iterum vale.

[4] Ex Plaubyren pridie Calendas Octobres anno 1507. Wolfgangus Rychardus Gyslingensis dignitatis vestrae poeta observantissimus.

[5] Ad accuratissimum, expertissimum fidelissimumque medicum, dominum doctorem Stockar, carmen Wolfgangi Rychardi Gyslingensis:

Dum mihi Castalio mulcerent nectare fauces
 continue nostris in manibusque forent
 Virgilius Nasoque Propertius atque Tibullus,
 Tullius et petulans cum Iuvenale Coquus,
 5 tunc meliora meis exhibant carmina septis
 Aonioque dabam carmina tincta sale,
 tunc etiam Aeneadam vidit me Musula regem,
 et legit versus docta caterva meos.
 Nunc postquam caligo meos obduxit ocellos,
 10 carmina destitui Pieriamque chelym.
 Ipse dolens oculos animum studiumque remisi.
 Hinc fit, per salebras quod mea Musa fluit.
 Tu tamen, o Stockar, medicorum maxime princeps,
 fac, oculis abeat fex tenebrosa meis,
 15 ut possim studiis operam praebere frequentem
 atque poetarum continuare libros.
 Sic mihi divitias Croesi nummismata Mydaeque

- aureaque Hesperidum reddere mala soles.
 Tunc mea Musa tuas numero carmine laudes
 20 dicet, et aeterno nomine notus eris.
 Aesculapius, Peon, Podalirius atque Machaon,
 Phillirides Chiron [cd.: Gallus], ipse Melampus item,
 hos medicos quamvis celebrarit carmen Homeri,
 non tamen hi vincant teque decusque tuum.
 25 Tu tamen, o Stockar, medicorum summe monarcha,
 fac, oculis abeat fex tenebrosa meis.
 Ut mihi succurras, studii commertia poscunt:
 vatibus et medicis unus Apollo favet.

«Dem exzellentesten und effektivsten Arzt und Ulmischen Bürger, dem gelehrtesten Doctor Johannes Stocker und seinem zu verehrenden Herrn, sende ich die besten Grüße.

[1] Gefeierte Herr Doctor und geschicktester Fürst der Ärzte, ich flehe deine herausragende Würde beim unsterblichen Gott bittend an, daß du meiner Bitte, deretwegen ich mich an dich wende, willfährig sein mögest. [2] Die Augenkrankheit der Verfinsterung belastet meine Augen. Auch wenn ich bis jetzt sehe, so doch zu wenig, und zumal wie andere Menschen kann ich nicht sehen. Galen hat nämlich drei Arten der Sicht beschrieben, eine, die weit aber nicht nahe sieht, eine zweite, wenn sie nahe und nicht weit sieht, und eine dritte, wenn sie weder nahe noch weit sieht.³⁹ Ich kann in der Nähe sehr gut sehen, aber in der Ferne gar nichts. Auf einen Doppelschritt kann ich die fetteste Schrift nicht so sehen, daß ich sie lese. In meiner Kindheit habe ich jedoch, wie ich sicher weiß, weiter und besser sehen können. Deshalb wird dieser mein Defekt, wie ich glaube, nicht aus einer zu geringen Zahl der Sehgeister verursacht, die durch zwei Venen, welche sich auf der Mitte der Stirn kreuzen, vom Gehirn zum Organ die Sehfähigkeit hinabbringen.⁴⁰ Sondern vielleicht ist dadurch, daß ich sehr häufig und ständig tags und

³⁹ Eine Stelle, wo Galen auf diese Weise drei Sehartens festhält, ließ sich nicht nachweisen. Zur Kurzsichtigkeit vgl. C. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia* (Leipzig, 1821-1833), XIV, S. 776 (in: *Introductio sive Medicus*): «Myopes vicina vident, remota non item»; XIX, S. 436 (in: *Definitiones medicae*): «Myopsis est affectus ab ortu contractus, quo propinqua cernimus, remota vel parum vel nihil omnino».

⁴⁰ Die Vorstellung, daß ein πνεῦμα vom Gehirn zum Auge fließt, das ihm die Sehfähigkeit bringt, und daß eine Schwäche dieses πνεῦμα die Sehfähigkeit beeinträchtigt, findet sich mehrfach bei Galen, vgl. C. G. Kühn (wie Anm. 39), X, S. 275 (in: *De usu partium corporis humani*): «visus instrumentum spiritum habere splendidum assidue sibi a cerebro affluentem»; XIV, S. 752 (in: *Introductio sive Medicus*): «oculi propter spiritus visorii imbecillitatem hallucinantur».

nachts immer Bücher gelesen habe, die Schärfe meiner Augen ermüdet und stumpfer gemacht worden. Sonst schmerzen meine Augen nicht, und ich glaube heute nicht mehr als gestern, vormittags nicht mehr als nachmittags zu sehen. Nach einem oder zwei Jahren aber bemerke ich, daß meine Sehkraft dunkler wird. Ich fürchte auch, daß sich dereinst Häutchen über meine Augen ziehen werden. [3] Deine Würde, hochzuverehrender Herr Doctor, hat meine Krankheit erkannt, und es sei dir nicht verborgen, daß einem Kranken nichts wertvoller ist als ihm zu Teil werdende Sorge und Hilfe. Deshalb, wenn du mich mit ewiger Dankbarkeit an dich fesseln und mich dir verpflichten willst, gewähre mir beim unsterblichen Gott deine Hilfe. Wenn du dies tust, wirst du mir ein so großes Gut schenken, daß du mir in dieser Welt kein größeres schenken kannst. Dies wird mir willkommener sein als alles Silber und Gold und als alle Edelsteine. Lebe wohl, menschenfreundlichster Doctor, und halte mich in dieser Sache und sonst für sehr empfohlen. Und wenn etwas in mir ist, was deiner Würde oder deinem Nutzen oder deiner Annehmlichkeit dienen könnte, so will ich, daß dies nicht mehr in meiner als in deiner Gewalt liege. Leb noch einmal wohl. [4] Aus Blaubeuren am 30. September des Jahres 1507. Der Geislinger Wolfgang Reichart, eurer Würde ergebenster Dichter.

[5] An den genauesten, erfahrensten und zuverlässigsten Arzt, den Herrn Doctor Stocker, ein Gedicht des Geislingers Wolfgang Reichart:⁴¹

Solange meine Kehle kastalischen Nektar genoß und ständig in unseren Händen waren Vergil und Ovid, Properz und Tibull, Cicero und mit Juvenal der freche Martial,⁴² (5) da gingen aus meinem Gehege bessere Gedichte aus und ich schenkte Gedichte, die aonisches Salz gefärbt hatte.⁴³ Da sah die Muse mich auch als König der Lateiner,⁴⁴ und die gelehrte Schar las meine Verse. Jetzt nachdem Finsternis meine Augen überzogen hat, (10) habe ich meine Gedichte verlassen und meine pierische Laute. Mit schmerzenden Augen ließ ich Mut und Studium fallen. Daher kommt es,

⁴¹ Die Struktur des Briefes wiederholt sich in gewissem Umfang in dem beigelegten Gedicht. Der Brief begann mit einer Anrede und Bitte [1], brachte dann die Beschreibung von Reicharts Augenkrankheit und seine eigene vorläufige medizinische Beurteilung [2] und danach seine Bitte und sein Versprechen [3]. Das Gedicht beginnt mit einer Beschreibung seines einstigen und jetzigen Zustandes (V. 1-12) und läßt darauf wieder Bitte und Versprechen folgen (V. 13-28).

⁴² *Coquus* ist ein unerklärter mittelalterlicher Name für den Epigrammatiker Martial, s. M. Schanz - C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, II, 4. Auflage (München, 1935), S. 557.

⁴³ Ausdruck nach Martial, *Ep.* 8, 3, 19: «at tu Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos.»

⁴⁴ Der Begriff *Aeneadae* wird bei Vergil und Lukrez im Sinne von Römer gebraucht, hier danach für die Lateinisch schreibenden und sprechenden Gelehrten.

daß meine Muse jetzt über holprige Stellen läuft.⁴⁵ Du jedoch, o Stocker, der Ärzte größter Fürst, mach, daß von meinen Augen der finstere Schleier verschwindet, (15) damit ich häufig an meinen Studien arbeiten und die Bücher der Dichter fortsetzen kann. Auf diese Weise kannst du mir den Reichtum des Krösus, die Münzen des Midas und die goldenen Äpfel der Hesperiden geben. Dann wird meine Muse dir mit einem metrenreichen Lied dein Lob (20) singen, und du wirst durch einen ewigen Namen bekannt sein. Askulap, Paeon, Podalirius und Machaon, der Phillyride Chiron⁴⁶ und ebenso Melampus selbst, obgleich das Gedicht Homers diese Ärzte feierte,⁴⁷ werden dennoch nicht dich und deinen Glanz besiegen. (25) Du jedoch, o Stocker, der Ärzte größter Monarch, mach, daß von meinen Augen der finstere Schleier verschwindet. Daß du mir zu Hilfe eilst, fordert die Verbindung unserer Studien: den Dichtern und den Ärzten ist ja ein einziger Apoll gewogen.

Die Kenntnis dieses biographischen Hintergrunds berechtigt zu der Annahme, daß Reichart in der Tat zur Wahl seiner Magister-*quaestio* durch seine Augenkrankheit und die damit verbundenen Befürchtungen motiviert war, so akademisch er sie dann auch diskutierte. Seine Sehfähigkeit scheint sich im übrigen später nicht erheblich verschlechtert zu haben. Er kommt in seiner Korrespondenz bis 1543 nie mehr auf sie zurück und hat seinen Beruf als Ulmer Stadtarzt nachweislich bis 1546 ausüben können. Die 1507 mit Stocker aufgenommene Beziehung führte ihn zum Medizinstudium und schließlich zur Nachfolge Stockers in Ulm.

Allgemein gesehen, brachte die Edition und Erläuterung der beiden Texte folgende Ergebnisse: Reicharts Magisterrede von 1509 zeigt die normalen humanistischen und philosophischen Leistungen für eine damals gut bewertete Abschlußprüfung in der unteren Fakultät der Universität Tübingen in einer bisher meines Wissens nicht erreichten Konkretheit, und man wird angesichts der Gleichartigkeit des damaligen Studienbetriebs auch in anderen Universitäten des deutschsprachigen Raums Ähnliches erwarten dürfen. Leider sind Vergleichsstücke aus dieser

⁴⁵ Ausdruck nach Martial, *Ep.* 11, 90, 1-2: «Carmina... per salebras altaque saxa cadunt», und Cicero, *Or.* 12, 39: «Herodotus sine ullis salebris fluit».

⁴⁶ Da der überlieferte *Gallus* nicht als homerischer oder sonst sagenhafter Arzt identifiziert werden kann und Melampus als Arzt sicher aus Vergil, *Georg.* 3, 349-50: «cessere magistri/ Phillyrides Chiron Amythaoniusque Melampus» stammt, wurde für *Gallus* vermutungsweise *Chiron* eingesetzt.

⁴⁷ Daß Reichart die vorstehenden Ärztenamen nicht den Gedichten Homers entnommen hat, beweist der Umstand, daß Chiron und Melampus dort nicht vorkommen. Reichart hat die Namen vor allem aus Hygin, Vergil (mit Servius), Properz und Ovid geholt.

Zeit meines Wissens nicht bekannt. Reicharts Brief von 1507 dokumentierte andererseits die leicht übersehene Tatsache, daß selbst hinter einer unpersönlich scheinenden akademischen Prüfungsleistung jener Zeit sehr persönliche, im Leben des Kandidaten begründete Motivationen stehen können, die wir nur dann erfahren, wenn die Überlieferung es, wie in diesem Falle, gut mit uns meint.

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UTOPIAE INSULAE FIGURA:
THE TITLE WOODCUT IN THOMAS MORE'S *UTOPIA*, 1516

I

Utopia is the book which made More's name famous and by which he still is remembered throughout the world. It depicts his Platonic ideas of a 'best state', expressed in elegant humanist Latin. Having no intention that it should be read — and misunderstood — by the indiscriminate general reading public of his day at the eve of the reformation, he skilfully employed Greek key-words for place-names, such as *Utopia* (from οὐ and τόπος, "no-place", also called by himself and other humanists *nusquama*, "nowhere"), the capital *Amaurotum* ("ghost or darkling city"), the river *Anydrus* ("water-less"), the *Alaopolis*, the *Ane-molians*, the *Macarenses* etc. Equally he used Greek for proper names, such as king *Utopus* ("land-less"),¹ king *Ademus* ("people-less") or the narrator *Hythlodæus* ("dealer in nonsense, liar"), who tells the whole story of that newly discovered ideal island. Thus it is only to those readers that are *skilled in Greek* — a vast minority then as well as today — that More unveils his whole truth: his "new island", where all men live according to reason and to the four cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, fortitude and modesty), is not of this world but, he stresses, "more to be wished than to be hoped for".

II. THE *EDITIO PRINCEPS* OF THOMAS MORE'S *UTOPIA*, 1516

When, on 3 September 1516, More finally despatched his manuscript of the *Utopia* to Erasmus, he entrusted *him* with seeing it through the press.² About two weeks later he asked him to solicit recommendations

¹ Perhaps More remembered king *John Lackland* (1167-1216) of English history.

² *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, edd. P. S. and H. M. Allen and H. W. Garrod, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1906-1958), IV, no. 461/1-3 (quoted henceforth as A with letter and line number).

from scholars and, if possible, from public celebrities.³ On 2 October, Erasmus informed More that their common friend Pieter Gillis was delighted with the book,⁴ and on 12 November Erasmus is told by Gerard Geldenhouwer, that Martens has undertaken to print it with the greatest pleasure and that he himself will secure the greatest possible care.⁵ On 15 December 1516 More is expecting to see the *Utopia* any day, as he tells Erasmus.⁶ And on 4 January 1517, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, thanks Erasmus for a copy of the book.⁷

Utopia seems to have left the second Louvain press of Dirk Martens in the second half of December 1516⁸, where five titles by Erasmus⁹ and one by P. Faustus Andrelinus¹⁰ had been its immediate forerunners in Martens's booklist.¹¹

It was a small volume in 4°, 54 fols.;¹² beginning with the title, there are 4 leaves unsigned, signatures a-k⁴, k-l⁴, m⁶. The unsigned leaves show the title (fol. 1^v); followed (apparently as a result of Erasmus's solicitations requested by More) by a woodcut of VTOPIAE INSVLAE FIGVRA (fol. 1^v); the VTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM and a Tetrastichon, a humanist practical joke in the fictitious exotic language of the Utopians, beginning (in Latin transliteration): "Vtopos ha Boccas peu la..." and accompanied by a Latin "translation" (fol. 2^r); the HEXASTICHON ANEMOLII

³ A 467/13-19.

⁴ A 474/29-30.

⁵ A 487/1-2, 6-7.

⁶ A 502/24-26.

⁷ A 508/1-7.

⁸ For the long Renaissance title, facsimiles of the title-page and of 'Vtopiae Insvlae Figvra' see (e.g.) André Prévost, *L'Utopie de Thomas More* (Paris, 1978), pp. 219-20.

⁹ In July 1516: his translation of Gaza's *Grammaticae institutionis liber*; in August: his *Institutiones principis christiani* (twice); in September: his *De octo partium orationis*; in October: his *Epistolae aliquot*; cf. 'Catalogus van Martensdrukken', Appendix II in: *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens 1473-1973* (Aalst, 1973); More's *Utopia* is M 136.

¹⁰ *Epistolae proverbialis et morales*, 'Catalogus van Martensdrukken', M 135.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, M 130-134.

¹² W. Nijhoff & M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 8 pts. ('s-Gravenhage, 1923-71), no. 1550 (henceforth quoted as 'NK'); Adams M 1755; *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography of his Works and of Moreana to the Year 1750*, compiled by R. W. Gibson (New Haven & London, 1961), I (henceforth quoted as 'Gibson' with number). This and the following editions are described in detail in the *Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (henceforth quoted as 'YWC'), 4 (New Haven & London, 1965), pp. clxxxiii-cxcii, and by Prévost, *L'Utopie*, pp. 215-40. The Yale edition is used throughout the present contribution. — For illustrations in the volume see Edward Surtz S. J., 'The Illustrations in the Yale *Utopia*', *Moreana*, 10 (1965), 55-73.

POETE (fol. 2^v); a letter from Busleyden to Pieter Gillis (fol. 3^r-4^r); a letter from Ioannes Paludanus (Van den Broek/Desmarais) to Gillis (fol. 4^{r-v}); and the first three lines of a "carmen" on the new isle of Utopia by Paludanus (fol. 4^v; continued on sig. a¹), followed by an epigram on Utopia by Gerard Geldenhouwer and one by Cornelius Grapheus (de Schrijver) "ad lectorem" (sig. a^{1r}). Next (sig. a^{1r}-a^{2v}) comes a letter from Busleyden to More¹³ (R 27), a "prefatio" in form of a letter from More to Gillis (R 29, sig. a^{2v-4v}). Then the text of book I of the *Utopia* starts with Raphael Hythloday's "sermon" (sig. b^{1r}). On sig. e^{3v} book II begins. It ends on sig. m^{6r}; the final page, m^{6v}, shows the printer's mark.¹⁴

Utopia was an immense success. By March 1517 the book was so well accepted everywhere that a revised edition was commissioned. After a period of only a few months, Gilles de Gourmont printed in Paris the second edition in 8°. ¹⁵ The following year, 1518, saw two editions in 4°, in March and in November/December, by Johann Frobenius in Basel, with woodcuts by Ambrosius Holbein and Urs Graf (Gibson, 3); in 1519 More's *Opuscula* together with the *Utopia* were printed by Giunta in Florence in 4° (Gibson, 82).

Utopia, so obviously designed for the erudite *humanist* reader, was slow to instigate vernacular translations. A German translation by Claudius Cantiuncula (Chansonette) was the first to appear in 1524 (Gibson, 34), *half-heartedly* as it were, since it contained only book II. It was followed only one generation later, in 1548, by an Italian (Gibson, 37), 1550 by a French (Gibson, 19), 1551 by Ralph Robynson's first English translation (Gibson, 25), and in 1553 by a Dutch one (Gibson, 38).

The *editio princeps* was critically edited by Victor Michels and Theobald Ziegler;¹⁶ J. H. Lupton used the third edition of March 1518,¹⁷ as do the editors of the modern Yale Edition, Edward Surtz S.J. and J. H. Hexter, whereas André Prévost used the fourth of November 1518.¹⁸

¹³ Published by Elizabeth F. Rogers (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (Princeton, 1947), no. 27 (quoted henceforth as R plus number).

¹⁴ As in the edition of R. Agricola's *Dialectica* (Lovanii, 1515), but without the ornamental borders; see *Tentoonstelling...*, p. 76.

¹⁵ Adams, M-1755; Gibson 2.

¹⁶ Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts, 11 (Berlin, 1895).

¹⁷ Oxford, 1895; it includes Robynson's first English translation of 1551.

¹⁸ Cf. *supra*, notes 8 and 12.

III. THE AUTHOR

Sir Thomas More's main biographical facts are familiar to us. It may here suffice to recall just a few of them.

Born in London on 6 February 1477/78,¹⁹ educated at Oxford and at London's Lincoln's Inn, a barrister at law, married to Jane Colt (who bore him three daughters and a son), Undersheriff of London, knighted, King's Councillor, Under-Treasurer of England, Speaker of the Commons and, finally, Lord Chancellor; he resigned, refused the Oath of Supremacy, was imprisoned, condemned on false evidence, executed on Tower Hill on 6 July 1535, and canonized in 1935.

The public limelight on his dramatic end has so dominated our picture of him that we do well in asking, what might the general public have known of the Thomas More of 1515 to 1520? We are lucky in having an account by a famous contemporary eyewitness, Erasmus of Rotterdam. His pen-portrait of More was written for Ulrich von Hutten in 1519,²⁰ only two and a half years after the first appearance of *Utopia*. It depicts the early Thomas More, the tender *paterfamilias*, the eloquent humanist and the clear-sighted royal councillor.

Furthermore, by 1516 More was known among the international circle of humanists from three editions of his Latin translations of *Lucian's Dialogues* (Paris, 1506 & 1514; Venice, 1516), from his *Life of John Picus* (i.e. Pico della Mirandola, London, c.1510), and even renowned from the *Moriae Encomion* (a witty pun on his name; Paris, 1511) which Erasmus had dedicated to his close friend,²¹ or from the laudatory epigram on him by Badius Ascensius of 1514.²² Dean Colet called More Britain's *solum ingenium*.

His diplomatic mission of 1515 on foreign-trade problems contributed to make him known to the Burgundian court of Charles V and to such influential councillors as William de Croy, Lord of Chièvres, chancellor John Le Sauvage, Michael de Croy, Lord of Sempy, John de Halewijn, Lord of Maldeghem, and George de Themsike.²³

¹⁹ For John More's memorandum on Thomas's birth cf. *The King's Good Servant: Sir Thomas More 1477/78-1535* (London, 1977), no. 10 (henceforth quoted as KGS with number).

²⁰ A999.

²¹ A222.

²² In his *Dialogi et alia emuncta* (Paris, 1516), sig. o7.

²³ Thomas Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, conventiones, literae et cuiuscunque generis acta publica...*, XIII, 544; R10 & 14; Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen (ed.), *Sir Thomas More: Neue Briefe*, Neue Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, 5 (Münster, 1966), no. 11A.

In a word, More added to that esteem the fame which his *Utopia*, a bestseller right from the start, won him throughout Europe.²⁴

IV. THE PRINTER

When More sent his *Utopia* to Erasmus at Louvain for publication, it was almost inevitable that Dirk Martens should be the printer.

Dirk Martens,²⁵ only son of Joos Martins/Mertins by Johanna (?) de Proost, was born at Aalst in Flanders about 1446/7 and was educated, as is generally assumed, by the local Williamite Brethren, in whose local convent he spent his last years and died in 1534. The circumstances of his early visit to Italy are not known, but he met his compatriot Girardus de Lisa (?Verleyen) of Ghent in or near Venice, a teacher and occasional printer. K. Heireman, after close comparison of their book productions, concluded that either de Lisa taught Martens the art of printing or that they both learnt it from the same Venetian teacher.

After his return, Martens set up his first press in his native Aalst, working at times in partnership with Johannes de Westfalia, who had arrived from Cologne. Martens may have been in Spain between 1474 and 1486. Having returned to Aalst, his book production at his second press may be described as mediaeval, *i.e.* devotional and scholastic, though a first humanist name appears with Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (the later Pius II).

In 1493 he moved to Antwerp, taking over the business of the late printer Gerard Leeu. Here he added Christopher Columbus to his list of authors. In 1497 he registered at the University of Louvain²⁶ and set up shop opposite University Hall, extending his publications (besides humanists like Beroaldus and Petrarch) to fiscal and synodal matters. He kept in touch, though, with Antwerp, where he practised his trade again from 1502-12. It was there that the young Pieter Gillis (Aegidius)²⁷ and

²⁴ During More's lifetime there were four Latin and one German edition(s) at Louvain, Paris, Basel (3) and Florence.

²⁵ For Martens cf. *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens 1473-1973* (Aalst, 1973); K. Heireman in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, VI (Brussel, 1974), 633-7; J. IJsewijn in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 3 vols. (Toronto / Buffalo / London, 1985-87), II, 394-6.

²⁶ *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, ed. E. Reusens, A. Schillings *et al.* (Brussels, 1958), III, 1, no. 75.

²⁷ Martens printed Gillis's collections of Rudolf Agricola's *Opuscula nonnulla* in 1511 and his *Summae sive argumenta legum* in 1517.

Gerard Geldenhouwer (Noviomagus)²⁸ worked for him as correctors, and Gillis brought him into contact with Erasmus, for whom he published four titles at his second Antwerp press. Other authors included the whole range of Renaissance humanists: Pico della Mirandola, Filelfo, Petrarch, Politianus and Agricola. When Erasmus handed Martens More's manuscript of *Utopia* in the autumn of 1516, he had been in business with him for more than twelve years²⁹ and there were almost another seven years to come.

Nor was More at that time unknown to Martens. About five years earlier, in January 1512, he had printed an edition of Erasmus's best-seller, the *Laus stultitiae sive Moriae encomium*,³⁰ dedicated to Thomas More.³¹ In 1512 Martens returned to Louvain, and it was from his second press there that he issued, apart from works by many other humanists,³² More's *Utopia* in December 1516.

V. VTOPIAE INSVLAE FIGVRA

On the verso of the title is a rough woodcut headed in capital letters, VTOPIAE INSVLAE FIGVRA. The fact that it is not just one of those much-favoured multi-purpose cuts from the printer's stock (with a few type-set

²⁸ Whose *Pompa exequiarum Catholici Hispanarum regis Ferdinandi* Martens printed in April 1516 and his *De ingressu Philippi de Burgundia in ditionem suam* in 1517.

²⁹ Their business relations date back to Martens's second Antwerp press (working between 1502 and 1512), where he had printed Erasmus's *Lucubratiunculae aliquot* (1503; 1509); *Gratulatorius panegyricus* (1504); *Laus stultitiae* (1512). Up to More's *Utopia*, the following titles by Erasmus were printed in Martens's second Louvain press (1512-1529): *De ratione studii* (1512); Erasmus's translation of Plutarch's *De tuenda bona valetudine* (1513); again the *Lucubratiunculae aliquot* (1514); Cato's *Disticha moralia* along with Erasmus's *Scholia* (1514); *De constructione octo partium orationis* (1514 twice); Erasmus's translation of Plutarch's *Opuscula* (1515); *Enchiridion militis christiani* (1515); *Parabolae* (1515); again Cato's *Disticha moralia* (1515); *Enarratio in primum psalmum* (1515); his translation of Lucian's *Complures dialogi* (1515) and of Theodore Gaza's *Grammaticae institutionis* (1516); *Institutio principis christiani* (Aug. 1516 twice); again his *De constructione* (Sept. 1516), and, finally, his *Epistolae aliquot* (Oct. 1516). At least 41 further titles by Erasmus were to follow the *Utopia* of 1516, before the printer retired in 1524.

³⁰ NK 831.

³¹ Ca. 1519 he was to print twice More's Latin translation of Lucian's 'Menippus' (NK 1392 and 1405).

³² Like Faustus Andrelinus, Dorpius, Barlandus, Cornelius Grapheus (who also contributed to the *Utopia*), Johannes Murmellius, Rescius, Gaza, Geldenhouwer and Lascaris.

VTOPIAE INSVLAE FIGVRA



Anonymous Title Woodcut, *Utopia*, Editio Princeps, Louvain:
D. Martens, 1516

legends inserted *ad hoc*) but an illustration made to order, is evident from its characteristic features which correspond closely to the text of *Utopia*.

Within a rectangular single-line frame (163 × 121 mm) the woodcut shows a semi-bird's-eye view of a seascape, dominated in the centre by an inhabited island, roughly in form of an horse-shoe, with the opening at the bottom.

Vtopiensivm Insula in media sui parte... millia passuum ducenta porrigitur... fines uersus paulatim utrinque tenuatur. hi uelut circumducti circino quingentorum ambitu millium, insulam totam in lunae speciem renascentis effigiant. Cuius cornua fretum interfluens, millibus passuum plus minus undecim dirimit, ac per ingens inane diffusum, circumiectu undique terrae prohibitis uentis, uasti in morem lacus stagnans magis quam saeuens, omnem prope eius terrae aluum pro portu facit. (YCW 4, 110).

"The island of the Utopians extends in the center... for two hundred miles..., but toward both ends it begins gradually to taper. These ends form a circle five hundred miles in circumference and so make the island look like a new moon, the horns of which are divided by straits about eleven miles across. The straits then unfold into a wide expanse. As the winds are kept off by the land which everywhere surrounds it, the bay is like a huge lake, smooth rather than rough, and thus converts almost the whole center of the country into a harbor..." (YCW 4, 111).

The background is occupied by the seashore of the hilly mainland.

passuum milia quindecim, qua parte tellus continenti adhaesit, excindendum curauit, ac mare circum terram duxit. (YCW 4, 112).

"He then ordered the excavation of fifteen miles on the side where the land was connected with the continent and caused the sea to flow around the land." (YCW 4, 113).

In the foreground there are three vessels. A large, sea-going boat is shown from her starboard, a late mediaeval fully-rigged *cog* (German *kogge*), broadly built, with the typically rounded raised prow and stern, her planking topped by two washboards; the prow showing some parallel shading. She has three square-rigged masts with multiple shrouds, secured by a set of short ropes across, known as 'rat-lines', forming rope-ladders for sailors to climb the ship's shrouds; there is only one yard each for a square sail; all three sails are reefed. Her foremast is held by a fore-stay from the bowsprit, not from the jib-boom. Behind the foot of the foremast, and given only in crude outline, stands a single, bareheaded seaman. The mainmast is topped by a crow's nest, which flies a long (?split) pennant, showing the

letters *N* and *O*.³³ The stern is raised high and shows, protruding well over the poop, a mast, a gallery and cabin windows, and underneath the main piece of a huge rudder. The cog is riding on anchor, with the taut rope stretching far out towards the right. It looks as if the cog had sent her small cock-boat ashore, where it can be seen, empty, right through the rigging of the mizzenmast.

The vessel on the right is being shown from the bow, coming on quickly, with her Latin sail full in the wind and one man at the helm.

The island in the centre has a somewhat irregular roundish coastline, which opens into a spacy gulf, forming a natural harbour which is controlled by a huge fortified tower with battlements, erected on top of a great crag.

In medio ferme interstitio una rupes eminent... cui inaedificatam turrim praesidio tenent... (YCW 4, 110).

"Almost in the center of the gap stands one great crag.... A tower built on it is occupied by a garrison." (YCW 4, 111).

The dominating geographical feature of the island is the river *Anydrus*, running roughly in form of a Greek Ω. It is shown from the *Fons*, a waterfall high up in the mountains on the left, following, at some distance, the inner coastline to the *Ostium*, where, on the right, it joins the gulf.

Oritur Anydrus milibus octoginta supra Amaurotum, modico fonte, sed aliorum occurso fluminum, atque in his duorum etiam mediocrium auctus, ante urbem ipsam, quingentos in latum passus extenditur, mox adhuc amplior, sexaginta milia prolapsus, excipitur oceano. (YCW 4, 118).

"The Anydrus rises eighty miles above Amaurotum from a spring not very large; but, being increased in size by several tributaries, two of which are of fair size, it is half a mile broad in front of the city. After soon becoming still broader and after running farther for sixty miles, it falls into the ocean." (YCW 4, 119).

Small towns, represented by the traditional topographical symbols, are placed at regular distances around the coast.

Insula ciuitates habet quatuor & quinquaginta spatiosas omnes ac magnificas..., idem situs omnium, eadem ubique quatenus per locum licet, rerum facies. Harum quae proximae inter se sunt millia quatuor ac uiginti separant... (YCW 4, 112).

³³ On the letters O and N see *infra*, pp. 228-29.

"The island contains fifty-four city-states, all spacious and magnificent... and... as far as the nature of the ground permits, similar even in appearance. None of them is separated by less than twenty-four miles from the nearest..." (YCW 4, 113).

The capital, inscribed *Ciuitas amaurotum*, dominates the island's centre, with walls, pinnacles, turrets and towers, a fortified but open city gate, steepled churches and gabled houses.

Situm est igitur Amaurotum, in leni deiectu montis, figura fere quadrata. Nam latitudo eius paulo infra collis incoepa uerticem, millibus passuum duobus ad flumen Anydrum pertinet... (YCW 4, 116).

"Amaurotum is situated on the gentle slope of a hill and is almost foursquare in outline. Its breadth is about two miles starting just below the crest of the hill and running down to the river Anydrus..." (YCW 4, 117).

Strangely enough, the whole island shows no signs of any vegetation.

The surrounding sea is represented by wavy lines, stretching regularly from left to right in the background, and interrupted realistically by the reflecting waves from the vessels in the foreground and even where the rope of the anchor dips into the water.

The continent in the background shows a hilly and, forming the horizon, even a mountainous landscape with a large, walled city at the right, with towers, steeples and gabled houses. It looks as if there were six small sailing boats off-shore with others laying in harbour. On the mainland we see some trees and shrubs.

In general, the woodcut is a typical hybrid of the time, *i.e.* late mediaeval, turning slowly into the Northern Renaissance of the early sixteenth century, mixing first attempts at nature-observing in giving an 'aerial' bird's-eye view of a coastal land- and seascape using pictographic symbols of traditional mediaeval cartography, as *parallel wavy lines* for water or stylized *houses, towers and steeples* for cities. The whole scene is traditional, with familiar, handed-down features, *cp. e.g.*, the view in *Epistola Christophori Columbi* (1493):³⁴ the wavy lines of the water, the vessel seen from starboard and riding on anchor "to the right", the three-mast cog (though there under sail), the shrouds, the single yards, the crow's nest (there manned) with a pennant flying "to the right", the single sailor on board, the storied harbour tower, the coastal

³⁴ *Epistola... de Insulis... Indie supra Gangem nuper inuentis...* [Rome, Stephan Planck, after 29 Apr. 1493; GW 7173; *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis* [Antwerp, Dirk Martens, c. 1493], 4^o; GW 7176; 'Catalogus van Martensdruken', M 26; facsimile: Ch. Ruelens, *La première relation de Christophe Colombe* (1493) (Bruxelles, 1895).

landscape divided by rivers, the traditional symbol for towns as well as the gothic ("Black Letter") xylographic lettering of place names. They share even details of wood-cutting: the predominance of contouring, shading or "rounding" by close parallel lines, the slight hatching of landscapes, etc.³⁵

Our artist, crude though he is, seems at his best when on familiar grounds: in the elegant line of the hilly horizon, the set pieces of the coastal landscape of the background, or in the stylized sailing vessels in the front: stock features that every illustrator employs. Where he had to tread *new* ground, as in depicting the literally *non-existent* island Utopia with features stipulated by the author (e.g. the details of the island Utopia, the gulfed port, the river *Anydrus* and the capital *Amaurotum* etc.), his hand, somewhat coarse in general, becomes less secure; even so, his illustration of the imaginary island, in all its plainness (or because of it), conforms better to More's text than the so very much more refined one by Ambrose Holbein which decorates the third edition of the *Utopia*, Basel 1518. The plainness of our artist's style still carries much of the charm of the woodcuts from the then by-gone days of *incunabula*.

Turning, for comparison, to Ambrose Holbein (1494 - c.1519, Hans Holbein's elder brother), it is obvious that he had the 1516 woodcut in front of him when he designed his own rendering. Indeed, he *copied* all its main features:

- the hilly skyline and scenery of the continental background,
- the circular island with the river *Anydrus* following its coastal curve, with the capital *Amaurotum* at the top and small towns placed at regular intervals over the island,
- the three vessels in the foreground even in their minute detail: the large cog in the foreground with one man at the mast, her reefed sails, the pennant flying from her crow's nest, her strange vertical planking, the oncoming second vessel under sail, and the cock-boat at the strand.

There are differences, though. As would be expected of a copy, Ambrose's picture stands side-inverted: the cog, in 1516 shown from her starboard with her prow to the right, has it now to the left, showing her port. The same goes for the other two vessels. The island, too, is turned around, having the waterfall at the source of the river *Anydrus* now on the right and its mouth on the left, although the printer, who had

³⁵ Cp. also some illustrations in *Rudimenta novitiorum* (Paris, Pierre Le Rouge for Vincent Commin, 1488), as given in Sotheby's (London) sale catalogue (27 June 1995), *The Collection of Dr. Otto Schäfer, pt. II: Parisian Books* (London, 1995), lot 172.

12 VTOPIAE INSVLAE TABVLA.



Title Woodcut by Ambrosius Holbein, *Utopia*, Third Edition, Basel:
J. Froben, 1518

to insert the lettering for "Fons..." and "Ostium Anydri", inadvertently left the legends in their position of 1516, so that "Ostium Anydri" now stands right next to its waterfall origin. Ambrose also failed to recognize the huge bay harbour at the bottom of the island which he fills with hills. He also did not catch the importance of the controlling tower at the bay's entrance, since he represented it as a church with a cross on top of its high steeple. These misunderstandings seem to suggest a certain unfamiliarity with the contents of More's text.

The chief difference is Ambrose's happy invention of a small strip of land right at the bottom, peopled by three male figures. The one on the left, pointing with his raised left towards the Utopian isle, is identified by a label as "Hythlodæus". Ambrose adorns the whole scene with one of his favoured³⁶ elegant Renaissance festoons of pointed foliage tied with ribbons and suspended from the upper frame; it carries three ornamental tablets inscribed "Amaurotum vrbs", "Fons Anydri" and "Ostium anydri". He also adds a third letter "R" on the pennant to the two ("N" and "O") of 1516, which has given raise to speculation.³⁷ Although offering a *copy* of the crude cut of 1516, there can be no doubt that Ambrose Holbein has turned it into a superb work of art, both in style and hand.

Finally, we have to enquire after the *function* of VTOPIAE INSVLAE FIGVRA, to what purpose was it added? Here we have to remind ourselves that it is not part of More's text, but belongs to the bundle of *parerga* that were inserted at the beginning of Martens's edition (fols. 1^v-4^v, sig. a^{1r} - a^{4v}). Following up More's masterful blending of literary "reality" and "utopian" fantasy, which keeps the reader in constant suspense, never sure on what ground he treads, with all the "life-like" features of Utopia described in topographical and political and institutional detail, the *parerga*, too, served as a means to add *credibility* to More's Utopian hoax. And in particular a woodcut of a "view" of the Utopian island was to serve, as it were, as an equivalent of our modern press photograph or TV picture, suggesting to the reader / viewer he "had seen it with his own eyes".

³⁶ Cp. similar entwined festoons in his "Virgin and Child" of 1514 in the Kunstmuseum Basel or in his "A twenty year old man with rich Renaissance architecture" of 1518 in the Hermitage in St Petersburg, to name but two paintings; H.W. Grohn observed his "tendency towards abounding decor of framework and garlands".

³⁷ Following up their speculation on "Nicoletti Opus" (cf. *infra*, pp. 228-29), the Yale editors suggest that the added "R" might stand for *Rossi, Rosa, Rosex*, "if Ambrose Holbein knew that the sketch of the island in 1516 had been done by Nicoletto..." (YCW 4, 277).

VI. THE ARTIST

The role of Erasmus in the production of More's *Utopia* is well known.³⁸ Even in the composition of the artist's drawing for the accompanying title woodcut his advice was sought, as is shown by a letter to him from Gerard Geldenhouwer (Noviomagus; who assisted in the production of many of Martens's books), dated Louvain, 12 November 1516:

Insulae ipsius figuram a quodam egregio pictore effectam Paludanus noster tibi ostendet; si quid mutatum velis, scribes aut figuram annotabis. (A487/2-4).

"The plan of the island itself has been drawn out by a capital artist, and Paludanus [Jean Desmarez] will show it to you; if you would like any alterations, either let me know, or note them on the draft".³⁹

The drawing for the cut, then, was completed by 12 November. As it looks, it also had received its title by then (*Vtopiae Insulae Figvra*) and was circulated for comment and criticism; that is to say, about a week *before* we hear that the book's manuscript was in the hands of the printer.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, the name of that *egregius pictor* has not been handed down. Unless one reads the letters 'N' and 'O' in the cog's pennant for the artist's monogram,⁴¹ the woodcut seems unsigned and the artist remains unknown.⁴² Allen⁴³ refers his readers to a tentative discussion of possible artists in Michels and Ziegler,⁴⁴ who mention *Quentin Metsys* and (questionably) *Ambrosius Holbein* — mere guesswork without presenting any arguments.

The Yale editors too speculate on the identification, suggesting that "N. O." "might stand for *Nicoletti Opus*, i.e. a work by *Nicoletto da*

³⁸ Cf. YCW, IV, introduction, xvff, clxxxiiiff and *passim*.

³⁹ *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, translated by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thompson, IV (Toronto and Buffalo, 1977), no. 487/3-5 (quoted as CWE with volume and letter number).

⁴⁰ Erasmus, from Brussels, 18 November 1516, to Pieter Gillis: "Vtopia in manibus est typographi", A 491/13.

⁴¹ Michels & Ziegler in their edition of the *Utopia* (cf. *supra*, n. 16), cl, describe the "Monogramm O.N." as not identifiable.

⁴² If Martens relied on artists working around the turn of the century in his native Aalst, perhaps also the following might be considered: Olivier Boccaert, Gooris de Bru, Adriaan de Hase, Jan van den Hende fs. Jans, Gillis Coucke fs. Hendrik, Dieric van Lombeke, Balthazar Neerincx, Jan de Roy, Adriaan Scollaert, Jan de Wenne; cp. *Ten-tonstelling Dirk Martens 1473-1973* (Aalst, 1973), p. 34.

⁴³ A487, n. 3.

⁴⁴ Cf. *supra*, n. 16.

Morena"⁴⁵ — a rather improbable ascription, for which no stylistic or external evidence is given. They also consider *Gerard Geldenhouwer*, reading "NO" for his cognomen *Noviomagus*, understanding that "Such skill as evidenced in the sketch of Utopia should not be thought surprising in Geldenhauer."⁴⁶ The Toronto editors, misreading a remark in the Yale edition of the *Utopia*, to which they refer,⁴⁷ erroneously name the artist as *Ambrosius Holbein*,⁴⁸ who in fact was the artist of the woodcut in the *third* edition of the *Utopia* (Basel, Johann Froben, 1518). Even a first glimpse at the respective woodcuts will reveal an almost total difference of hands and artistic approach.

Comparing the *Utopia* woodcut with cuts in other books printed by Martens, it seems more obvious to me that he would have employed an artist known to him, perhaps the rather crude one (or one of that kind) who had worked for him at his second Antwerp press, e.g. for his *Book of Hours* of 1512,⁴⁹ that shows a similar style and technique of design of landscapes in the background of many of his figurative woodcuts.⁵⁰

VII

Martens's *Utopia* was a typical hybrid of the age. On first impression it would be easy to sketch out a seemingly convincing picture, in which for all its *parerga* and woodcut illustrations, Martens's *Utopia*, as most of his output, was no bibliophile work of art, but a specimen of plain printer's craft *before* the arrival of Italian Renaissance aesthetics in the Northern printers' office (like Amerbach's and Froben's in Basel), *before* the days of their assuming the rôle of humanist centre's of book culture and *before* the days of the great artist-designers (like Dürer, the Holbeins, Baldung Grien or Cranach) and superb form-cutters. Against those great names it would seem symbolical that Martens's artist remained anonymous, his style coarse; indeed, the three decorative initials (S, P, Q) of the first edition are taken at random from three different mediaeval

⁴⁵ YCW 4, 277.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ YCW 4, clxxxviii.

⁴⁸ CWE 4, 125, n. 2 to letter 487.

⁴⁹ 'Catalogus van Martensdrukken', M 79; unique copy Brussels, Royal Library, LP 4226.

⁵⁰ Cf. the plates included at the end of *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens*, 1973, e.g. P 19, 29, 33, 40-43, 49, 55, 59, 62, 68, 71.

fonts, another two (N and U) are just plain *versalia* of a gothic type. The text is set in roman ('*Antiqua*'), the marginals in black-letter ('*Gothico-antiqua*'), thus combining the two main type-families characteristic of that age. And in comparing the two editions of *Utopia*, Martens's *editio princeps* and Froben's Basel edition, it would seem they represent, in their physical appearance as books, two different worlds as it were; only fifteen months apart (December 1516 and March 1518), Martens produced a mediaeval book, Froben one of the Renaissance... But that would be less than half the truth.

On closer observation, however, Martens's non-ostentation must be seen in line with his policy of "democratizing the book" (K. Heireman) by producing plain but solid editions at a reasonable price for a broad market of students, far beyond the local university. In-ostentatious as his books were, yet his printer's office at Louvain was all the same one of those great centres of humanistic book culture, as witness his some 250 printed books, his Latin, Greek and Hebrew editions (in part for the *Collegium Trilingue*), his grammars, dictionaries and bilingual books — quite apart, of course, from the main point, that the *Utopia* itself and More's whole concept of a newly discovered island and of a state governed by reason and "heathen" virtues is, undoubtedly, a child of the new era.

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POETRY AND RELIGION IN SANNAZARO'S
DE PARTU VIRGINIS

In a sort of *envoi* to his pipe, 'A la sampogna', which he added to his last revision of the *Arcadia*,¹ the poet Sannazaro bids farewell to his sylvan Muse. It is a very desolate scene:

Le nostre Muse sono estinte; secchi sono i nostri lauri; ruinato è il nostro Parnaso; le selve son tutte mutole; le valle e i monti per doglia son divenuti sordi.

He had earlier made some vague vaticinations about a new direction in his poetry in an elegy to his beloved Cassandra Marchese:

Mox maiora vocant me numina scilicet alti
Incessere animum sacra verenda Dei (*Elegiae*, III, 2, 45-46),

and adumbrates the theme of the work:

Nuncius aetheriis ut venerit aliger astris
Dona ferens castae Virginis in gremium (vv. 49-50).

Instrumental in converting the poet to a celebration of divine subjects was the famous preacher and mystic, Giles of Viterbo. We are told in a late life of the poet by Giovanni Antonio Volpi² that he had been deeply impressed by the Augustinian monk's use of a verse of Virgil in a sermon, given in Naples, to prove an article of faith, and was inspired by it to set to work on his epic poem on the virgin birth. This same story is related by Pino da Cagli in *Del Galant'Uomo*:

quel grande predicatore Egidio Viterbese, che fu cardinale, che predicando in Napoli con un verso della Eneide di Vergilio con buona occasione allegato, compunse tanto il cuore e lo spirito di Giacomo Sanazaro, nobile gentiluomo e poeta eccellentissimo, che amaramente si dolse di non havere sentito prima sì egregio predicatore...onde si diede al componimento di materie spirituali; come si vede nel bellissimo libro suo, *De partu Virginis*.³

¹ Jacobo Sannazaro, *Opere volgari* a cura di Alfredo Mauro (Bari, 1961), p. 130.

² *Jacobi sive Actii Synceri Sannazari Poemata* (Venetiis, 1752), p. xxxix.

³ Pino da Cagli, *Del Galant'Uomo* (Venezia, 1604), pp. 153-4.

Their contacts must have been strengthened by their association at the Neapolitan Academy, where Sannazaro had succeeded to the post of Pontano. In an excellent recent study Marc Deramaix⁴ has documented this intellectual friendship of the two men by publishing three eclogues of Giles of Viterbo written around 1504, thus exactly at the time when Sannazaro was embarking on his career as a religious poet. The second of these is an encounter between two shepherds, Meliboeus and Lycidas, who are clearly Virgil and Sannazaro. The latter singer is taking leave of his woodland haunts and his pipe has been silenced ('et vox et calamis discessit musa relictis', v.19, Deramaix, p. 246). As the rustic conversation proceeds, Lycidas intones a sublime song about events he witnessed in Palestine, the birth of a miraculous child, attended by many of the circumstances that are narrated in the *Fourth Eclogue*. Thus we have the strange reversal of a Christian poet reciting to Virgil his own prophetic words in their Christian garb. No clearer indication could be given of the genesis of the *De partu virginis* under both poetic and religious auspices.

For Giles, as for Pico and Ficino, the ancient writers, among whom Virgil held a privileged place, and the pagan myths prefigured the Christian mysteries and were to be interpreted in that light. Augustine and other Church Fathers had supplied the precedent of seeking the truth under a poetic veil. Indeed he felt that those who studied the ancient poets without being aware of the hidden meaning that lay behind them were like those who are so captivated by the beauty of a tree's foliage that they forget all about its fruit.⁵ He admired those poets of his own day who were able to express religious truths in fitting language and after so many centuries of barbarity once more to join piety with eloquence. In the case of the *De partu virginis* Giles was an active collaborator with the poet. We learn from a letter of Gian-Tommaso Tucça to Isabella d'Este, dated 31 March 1521,⁶ that Sannazaro had sent his poem to Giles in Rome for corrections. This date corresponds exactly with a series of letters beginning on 21 March and continuing to approximately 15 April,

⁴ M. Deramaix, 'La genèse du *Du partu Virginis* de Jacobo Sannazaro et trois élogues inédites de Gilles de Viterbe', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, Moyen Age, 102 (1990), 173-276.

⁵ John W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform* (Leiden, 1968), p. 57. The original passage is from Giles' 'Historia XX saeculorum,' Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ang. Lat. 502, fols. 52^v, 228^{r-v}.

⁶ A. Luzio e R. Renier, 'La cultura e le relazioni letterarie d'Isabella d'Este con J. Sannazaro', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 40 (1902), 316.

1521, to a mutual friend, Antonio Seripando,⁷ in which he responds to various criticisms and suggestions made by his friends at Rome, principally Giles, to whom he had submitted the poem for inspection. Through them we have access to the anguished travail of the poet in his final revisions and the struggle between sacred and profane letters. In more than one place he confesses to his desperation, e.g., 'io confesso non saper né possere più' (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 87). What he desired from the judgement of Giles was not an *imprimatur* for the poem but the benefit of the churchman's poetic knowledge and intuition. He insists that although he has written on sacred subjects, 'la compositione, il modo e lo ordine son puro di poema.' (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 88). His chief preoccupation is that there be nothing superfluous or irrelevant; he constantly refers to 'lo soverchio' or 'pleonasmos' and cites passages from the *Ars poetica*⁸ that speak of cutting back the over-elaborate in the interests of greater clarity. As for the license of dressing religious themes in Virgilian verse and ignoring the censures of 'i frati', he had the example of Sedulius, Juvencus, Arator and Prudentius (cf. Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 89). The Aldine edition of *Poetae christiani veteres* at the beginning of the century had given great impetus to this type of religious poetry.

Although overtly he discounts this criticism, there are frequent impatient verbal skirmishes with these detractors. Of more concern to the poet is the desire not to desecrate the poetic canons of Virgil and other classical poets. In answer to his critics he cites specific verses to show that he had classical precedent, 'fare con exemplo', as he says. Yet he has no patience with those who reprimand him for using a word that is not found in Virgil. 'Ignoranti bestie' he calls them and protests his unequalled love for his model in an emotional outburst: 'Io non daria vantaggio ad persona che sia sopra la terra di amare, ammirare et, dirò più, adorare Virgilio che fo io, ma mi pare pazzia troppo scoperta non volere che vaglia quel che Virgilio non dice' (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 101). With regard to mixing Christian and pagan elements Sannazaro is

⁷ These letters, contained in the codex *Additional 12058* of the British Library, were transcribed and published for the first time by E. Nunziante, *Un divorzio ai tempi di Leone X. Da XL lettere inedite di J. Sannazaro* (Rome, 1887). They were then re-edited by Alfredo Mauro (see n. 1), pp. 368-88, and have now been more faithfully reproduced, with fuller citation of the classical and scriptural sources, in Jacopo Sannazaro, *De partu virginis* a cura di Charles Fantazzi e Alessandro Perosa (Firenze, 1988), App., pp. 85-108. All further references to the letters and to the text of the poem will be to this edition.

⁸ Horace, *Ars poetica*, 446-8.

unabashed, holding with his friend and patron, Giles of Viterbo, that Virgil might have had the gift of prophecy, and, as he states, 'che Dio volse essere bandito da tutto il mondo (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 92). Like Virgil he has more than one cord to his lyre. Rather than overwork Mercury, he has Laetitia appear to the shepherds to tell them of the child (III, 93-144). Proteus, a favourite god of his, may substitute David in the art of prophecy, with the caveat 'mendax ad cetera Proteus / hoc uno veras effudit carmine voces' (III, 336-7). Sannazaro does not go to the extent, however, of calling Christ the son of Jupiter or Apollo, as Petrarch does,⁹ or Dante.¹⁰ On the other hand he defends his calling Joseph *heros* and the Virgin *regina*. Not for him, he says, 'quelle miserie di farla filare' (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 104).

Plagued by these artistic and religious scruples Sannazaro labored for long years over his sacred poem. According to a tradition reported by Paolo Giovio,¹¹ he spent more than twenty years in the composition of *De partu virginis*. The same was true of his vernacular works. The *Arcadia*, of which the first draft was probably completed some time around 1485 or 1486, was not printed until 1504,¹² two years after an unauthorized edition appeared, and even then Sannazaro was reluctant to give it official recognition.

In the case of the *De partu virginis*, a work on which the poet set much greater store, we have an extraordinary opportunity of observing the evolution of a literary work at various stages of its completion over a long period of time. Professor Perosa and I have given a detailed exposition of this process in the history of the text in our critical edition,¹³ but I should wish merely to rehearse briefly here the chief elements in this tradition so that the reader may be able to follow the present study. The text of the earliest redaction of the first book of the poem is preserved in five copies, four in manuscript (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cod II V 160, Vat. lat. 2874, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV, 17, and Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 7,

⁹ Petrarch, *Bucolicum Carmen*, I, 66.

¹⁰ Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, VII, 18; *Paradiso*, I, 13.

¹¹ "Gravi autem et sacro poemate *De Partu Virginis*, viginti annorum lima perpolito." Paolo Giovio, *Gli elogi degli uomini illustri*, ed. R. Menegazzi, in *Pauli Iovii Opera*, VIII (Rome, 1972), p. 104.

¹² It was carefully edited by Pietro Summonte from a MS given to him by Sannazaro with his own corrections. Cf. Gianfranco Folena, *La crisi linguistica del Quattrocento* (Florence, 1952), p. 11. A critical edition of the poem has yet to appear.

¹³ Fantazzi-Perosa, pp. LVI - XCVI.

1, 19);¹⁴ and one in a clandestine Venetian printing, in which it is given the title *Christeis*.¹⁵ Although recognizably the basis of the first book of the definitive version, it is distinct enough to merit separate consideration in the critical text, as has been done in our edition.¹⁶ The five witnesses of this earliest text are not derived from one another, each containing numerous independent readings of its own. There are omissions of words and sometimes of entire verses in the Venetian printing and Vatican, Sevilla and Wrocław MSS, but not in the Florentine copy, which is the best witness of this first version.

Sannazaro's reaction to the clandestine edition was furious, as might be expected. In an undated letter to the Venetian patrician, Marcantonio Michiel¹⁷ he lashed out against the 'ribaldo falsario' who had used such iniquity against him. Exhibiting his usual concern for perfection he protests 'le cose mie non meritano uscir fore', but obviously the appearance of this first tentative version of the poem instigated Sannazaro to return assiduously to his work of revision in view of publication. Although the Venetian edition contains a number of misprints and perhaps a few changes originating with the publisher, it is a much better piece of work than the clandestine edition of the *Arcadia*, likewise published in Venice, in 1501, full of errors and Venetian dialectal forms.

Of the other two books we do not possess a preliminary version, but it is quite probable that a similar text existed, given Sannazaro's unremitting *labor limae*. Even before the Venetian appeared it is known from the letters to Seripando that Sannazaro had subjected the poem to innumerable modifications for several years. In his words 'non ho fatto altro che radere e cassare tre quattro volte una cosa'. (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 89). These earlier drafts no longer exist but beginning with the state

¹⁴ The Wrocław and Sevilla MSS, listed in P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, IV (Leiden, 1989), 437a and 622a, unfortunately escaped our attention, but upon later examination they are found to exhibit the same errors that are to be found in the Vatican MS and the Venetian printing; the Wrocław readings are closer to the Venetian edition and the Sevilla *Cristias*, as it is called, closer to Vat. lat. 2874, but the errors and variants are not completely identical with either of them.

¹⁵ The printer of this clandestine edition, preserved in two copies, one at the Marciana in a miscellany that once belonged to Apostolo Zeno, and the other in the University Library of Cambridge, has not been identified. It bears no date, but the paper and type indicate the first decades of the sixteenth century. Fausto Nicolini conjectures Bernardino de' Vitali, active at Venice from 1494 to 1539, 'Una lettera del Sannazaro al Michiel', in *L'arte napoletana del Rinascimento* (Naples, 1925), p. 22.

¹⁶ "*Libri primi forma antiquior*", Fantazzi-Perosa, pp. 9-20.

¹⁷ Fantazzi-Perosa, pp. 85-86.

of the work in 1521 it is possible to trace successive stages in its elaboration up to the Neapolitan *editio princeps* of 1526. Through the letters to Seripando, the readings of various manuscripts, marginal notes, and the deciphering of readings barely visible under erasures made by the poet himself in two autographs in the Laurentian Library we can gain an intimate glimpse of the poet at work and reconstruct the history of the elaboration of the text in these final years.

One of these autographs, the codex Ashburnhamianus 411 (A), is the key to this reconstruction. It is a sort of palimpsest, for underneath the many erasures and crossings-out is an early redaction of the text, which can often be made out with the help of other manuscripts, and in the case of the first book, of the text of the *Christeis*. On the other hand, this MS, save for very few instances, with all its corrections, additions and deletions, corresponds to the *editio princeps*, for which it served as the copy text. This can be ascertained by the presence of finely drawn lines in pencil after certain verses, which correspond exactly to the pagination of the *editio princeps*.

Another autograph copy, Laurentianus Mediceus 34, 44 (L), is posterior to the Ashburnham codex, but coincides almost entirely with it. In some cases, however, it follows a text in A that had already been modified while in others it retains the older reading unchanged. In the letters to Seripando we learn that Sannazaro sent a copy of the poem to Rome so that it might be examined for style and content by Seripando himself and other illustrious personages. Among those readers were Jacopo Sadoletto, bishop of Carpentras and papal secretary, Giles of Viterbo, and the poet, Antonio Tebaldeo, whose interventions were particularly appreciated by Sannazaro since, as he says, he often not only offered criticism but suggested poetic alternatives. On the basis of the discussions of over seventy passages in these letters it becomes evident that about half of the suggestions proposed by the poet in response to the criticisms made by his friends in Rome correspond to readings of the *De partu* that did not undergo further revision. The other half correspond to readings that were later erased in the autograph and substituted by others. Most of these variants are witnessed to by readings of other MSS and can usually be divined under the erasures in the Laurentian MS, but some, about eight all told, are unique testimonies.

For other readings that lie beneath the erasures in A we have, for the first book, the invaluable testimony of the *Christeis*, and for all three books a group of three MSS, two belonging to Girolamo Seripando,

one of which is written partly in his own hand at the dictation of the Neapolitan poet, Decio Apranio, partly by Apranio himself, and partly by Antonio Seripando. The text of the poem in the other Neapolitan MS was written by Apranio, while Girolamo Seripando inserted the biblical annotations and textual variants between the lines and in the margin. The third member of this group is a Vatican MS (U) in fairly tattered condition, which belonged at one time to Fulvio Orsini. It is an exact reproduction, folio for folio, of the MS of Apranio with notes, additions, corrections and variants given in the same order as they appear there. In all three of these the original text is not obliterated by an erasure, as in the two Laurentian autographs, but is clearly legible, with the authorial variants written in between the lines or in the margin. Thus with the testimony of these MSS it is possible to reconstruct the intermediate stage of the text, as it existed around 1523, between the original draft of the autograph before the erasures and the definitive text of the Neapolitan *editio princeps* of 1526. The copyists of these three MSS, or the copyist of their archetype, evidently made use of a text that had only been partially corrected by the author.¹⁸

A close comparison of the earlier form of the first book with the definitive version yields valuable insights into the method of composition and the artistic and religious personality of Sannazaro. I have made some preliminary observations in this regard in a previous paper, which I should like to expand at some length here.¹⁹ In general, the poet amplifies the earlier text, adding connective passages, changing an epithet or phrase here and there, accommodating the diction and sentiments to his own rigorous poetic standards or to theological requirements urged upon him, and at times slightly modifying the structure. In all, he enriched the text with a hundred new lines, the largest single

¹⁸ Interesting contributions to the history of the text are also to be found in marginal notes written into a copy of the Roman edition published by Minuzio Calvo at the end of the year 1526 which exists in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence (Rari 306). The variants were probably added towards the middle of the 16th century by someone who collated the printed edition with some unknown MS. Of the eighty variants given there thirty are not found elsewhere. Part of these correspond to erasures in the autograph, where the original reading is not known from any other source, while others seem to be errors of transcription or proposed emendations to a text that the reader did not fully understand.

¹⁹ Charles Fantazzi, 'The Making of *De partu virginis*' in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, St Andrews 24 August to 1 September 1982*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (Binghamton, 1986), pp. 127-34.

insertion being the lament of Mary at the foot of the cross. Not all of these new verses were added at the same time, but in successive stages.

The poet makes only a few changes in the splendid opening, substituting the verb *abluit* for *eripuit* (I, 4), theologically more exact for the washing away of the original stain from the human race. Rather than repeat the notion of sin Sannazaro uses *generis* as the genitive with *labem* rather than *sceleris*. He adds a cautious *si fas* (I, 6) to his plea for heavenly inspiration and omits the elaboration of the traditional haunts of the Muses — Cirra, synonymous with Delphi, and Ascrea — as well as a personal homage of three lines to the Muses, who had nurtured him from birth to the cultivation of the arts.²⁰ The mightiness of his theme is made more prominent by the repetition of the adjective *magna*:

magna quidem, magna, Aonides, sed debita posco (I, 15),

where originally he had written:

Pierides, miranda quidem sed debita posco (*Christeis*, 16).

Sannazaro also uses more caution in his attribution of prophetic powers to the Muses. The confident assertions *vidistis* and *hausistis* become the more careful *potuistis aspicere* and *nec latuisse putandum est* (I, 16 and 18), but to the scene in the cave and the shepherds' jubilation he adds the manifestation to the Gentiles with a reference to the star and the coming of the Magi, which perhaps adds greater credibility to the witnessing of these events by the Muses:

orientia coelo / signa...eoos reges (I, 17-18).

The poet turns next to the Virgin herself, invoking her with epithets that bespeak her powers of intercession with God. In the *Christeis* he addresses her as 'nova lux superum, tu gloria coeli' (v. 21), which then becomes the more devotional, 'spes fida hominum, spes fida deorum' (I, 19). In his letter to Seripando, however, he feels obliged to defend the use of the plural *deorum*, citing in his defense various passages from the Psalms and the fact that he had received the approval of theologians. For the omitted epithet, *gloria coeli*, Sannazaro substitutes an 'amplificatio' of three verses depicting Mary's glorious presence in heaven with a thousand battle lines set in array and surrounded by a heavenly militia, chariots, standards and blaring trumpets. For his part, by contrast, the

²⁰ These three lines are contained only in the Ashburnham codex, crossed out by transverse lines.

poet vows to continue his humble devotion and to celebrate the feast of the nativity in the lovely shrine hewn out of the rock in his beloved villa at Mergellina, overlooking the foaming tide. Already in these lines of the introduction one senses a subtle expansion of the powers of Mary and of her role as mediatrix between God and man, in response to the Lutheran denial of the importance of the Mother of God in the plan of salvation.²¹

As often in epic poetry, including Christian epic, the scene shifts to the heights of heaven, where God deliberates upon the fate of man, thrust down into the depths of Tartarus. Of the numerous lexical changes in this passage I shall cite but a few which illustrate Sannazaro's meticulous work of revision. To describe the dire consequences of original sin the poet exclaims:

tantum odia et primae poterant contagia culpae! (*Christeis*, 33).

This becomes the more compact classical line:

tantum letiferae poterant contagia culpae (I, 39).

The loss of the adjective *primae*, is compensated for in a successive line through the contrast *prisca* — *seri*:

prisca luent poenis seri commissa nepotes (I, 41).

At the end of God's soliloquy, however, there is a terse epigrammatic distich:

Nec mora, cum fuerit tantorum sola malorum
foemina principium, reparet quoque foemina damnum (*Christeis*, 45-6).

There may well be an echo of a famous Horatian line (*carm.* IV, 7, 13) in *reparet...damnum*, but it is the quick reprise of the word *foemina*, Mary making good the loss incurred through Eve, that gives pungency to the lines.²² Sannazaro testifies to his dissatisfaction with the first version (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 97) but in this case, it seems to me, the solution loses its terseness:

²¹ Pope Leo X refers to this service of the poet to the cause of the church in his brief of 6 August 1521, written by Bembo, "divina factum providentia, ut divina sponsa tot impiis oppugnatoribus laceratoribusque lacessita, talem tantumque nacta sit propugnatorem." (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 109).

²² The antithesis contained in the repetition of the word *foemina* in close proximity may be owed to a distich of Sedulius in a curious poem written in the figure of 'epanalepsis', in which a phrase at the beginning of a couplet is echoed at the end of the couplet, contrasting Old and New Testaments:

Sola fuit mulier, patuit quae ianua leto

Et qua vita redit, sola fuit mulier.

(*Elegia*, 7-8 in *Patrologia Latina*, 19, col. 753).

cumque caput fuerit tantorumque una malorum
foemina principium lacrimasque et funera terris
intulerit, nunc auxilium ferat ipsa modumque
qua licet afflictis imponat foemina rebus (I, 51-4).

Nothing is gained by the repetition *caput... principium*, and perhaps it was at the suggestion of some theologian that the phrase *auxilium ferat* is inserted.

In the following scene, in which God instructs the angel Gabriel for his mission, a fine theological nuance is effected. Sannazaro had first written:

ut foret aeternum sobolem quae sola Tonantis
conciperet ferretque pios non territa partus (*Christeis*, 62-63).

To have the Almighty refer to himself with the pagan title of *Tonans* is surely somewhat awkward in the circumstances and it is replaced by the more mysterious *numen*. In this solemn statement of the divine purpose there was need of more doctrinal explicitness. *Soboles*, a word redolent of Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, eliminated here, is employed later in the second speech of the angel (I, 147). The epithet *intacta* of the Virgin's womb is added together with the reinforcing phrase *sine semine*. This change then necessitates another in a previous line from *intactum* to *inlaesum*, to avoid repetition. Thus the new lines define the virgin birth with much greater clarity:

ut foret intacta sanctum quae numen in alvo
conciperet ferretque pios sine semine partus (I, 75-6).

A corroborating quotation from scripture given in the margin of the Laurentian autograph (all such quotations, written in red ink, are in the poet's own hand): 'Quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius Dei' (Luke I, 35).

The marvelous passage describing the angel's descent from the heavens with its skillful amalgam of reminiscences of Virgilian diction and rhythmical movement is left unchanged. In the depiction of the Virgin immersed in her reading of the Scriptures once more the change introduced, apparently for doctrinal reasons, seems clearly to detract from the poetry. As Mary contemplates with sentiments of admiration the future mother of God, as foretold by prophets and Sibyls, she refers to her in the *Christeis* (and this line is retained without erasure in the Laurentian autograph):

felicemque illam felici et sidere natam (v. 90).

The nice repetition is lost in the theologically more correct but metrically more awkward

felicemque illam humana nec lege creatam (I, 103).

A few further lines down (v.108), Sannazaro resisted a proposed change for the Virgilian-derived description of the angel's divine presence. He defends *insuetum diffundit odorem* (*Georg.*, IV, 415), said of the nymph Cyrene, in a letter to Seripando, citing a passage from Ovid's *Fasti* and refuting suggestions that had been proposed to him in support of *honorem* or *honores*. The second of these suggestions might have some support from the classical context, in which the supernatural radiance in the eyes of Aeneas is owed to the intervention of his divine mother, but probably Sannazaro rejected it because of the proximity of *honores* in v.104, as his own change of the epithet *aethereum* to *insuetum* is probably motivated by the use of *aethereis* at v. 98. In this exchange, particularly, the poetic judgment of the recipient seems quite insensitive, while Sannazaro shows great docility, protesting that he merely wished to give the artistic reasons for his choice without wishing to exhibit any contrariety: 'Questo non è detto per contrariare, ma per mostrare le cagioni che mi indusseno ad far così: facciasi perhò come piacerà ad Sua Signoria, che ne starò al iudicio di quella' (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 92).

The angel's simple salutation takes on a very exalted tone in the revision. The subtle change 'Salve, o nostris lux addita rebus' (*Christeis*, 96) to 'Oculis salve lux debita nostris' (I,109) emphasizes Mary's predestined role in the divine plan of redemption; the apostrophe 'Notum coelo iubar' (I, 110) extols her above all human creation. Every grace that flows from the eternal mind brought down to earth by divine wisdom is attributed to her; in heaven she will be exalted, on earth she will hearken to men's prayers. This fulsome eulogy must have pleased his ecclesiastical patrons although alas! it is far from the spirit of the simple evangelical account. The Virgin's perturbation at the words of the heavenly messenger was translated quite literally from the Vulgate at first, 'stupuit dictis conterrita virgo', echoing in more epic fashion the words of Luke 'turbata est in sermone eius', but this met with opposition, as we learn in the letter to Seripando (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 97). Sannazaro changed *dictu* to *visu*, explaining that the emotion would then be more consonant with the following simile of a modest young maiden on the shore of Myconos awaiting the arrival of her future spouse, a fine

naturalistic touch. In the end, he rejected both and settled for an innocuous *confestim* with a necessary metrical change to *exterrita*.

Sannazaro obviously had second thoughts about the expression of the angel's reassurance to Mary of the faithfulness of his words. In both the *Christeis* and the *editio princeps* the text reads:

vaticinor, non insidias, non nectere fraudes
edoctus: longe a nostris fraus exulat oris (I, 144-5).

Under the erasure of A, however, and in the text of L, with the older version on a piece of paper glued to the margin, we read this alternative:

praedico, sic res hominum prospectat ab alto
qui coelum terrasque suo sub numine torquet.

Both versions are replete with Virgilian phrases: *nectere fraudes*, *exulat oris* in the one, *coelum torquet* in the other, but one is tempted to think that perhaps the older version would have been preferable, save perhaps that it was deemed too reminiscent of the Roman chief deity. Indeed the lines seem somewhat superfluous in the final version, where Sannazaro adds:

Neve haec vana putes dictis aut territa nostris / indubites (I, 170-1).

Mary's consternation at the angel's words was expressed rather forcefully in the first version with a direct echo from the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* (I, 483) of Daphne's resistance to Apollo:

tactus exosa virum taedasque iugales (*Christeis*, 136).

This is considerably mitigated to 'me ne attactus perferre viriles / posse putas' (I, 158-9), influenced perhaps by Mantuan's 'tactus non passa viriles' (*Parthenice prima*, II, 597), although there these words are spoken by Gabriel. Mary's asseveration of her virginity is strengthened by the addition of the phrase 'nitenti matris ab alvo', an allusion to the doctrine of the immaculate conception, which again would find ecclesiastical favor.

Mary's '*fiat*' undergoes some subtle modifications in the final revision, which accentuate her complete acquiescence to the will of God. Faith and 'obsequiosa voluntas' (the adjective is very rare) conquer all her doubts. 'En adsum', a fitting phrase in the mouth of the handmaid of the Lord, was already in the *Christeis*, but her acceptance of the divine will is made much more explicit by a direct address to the deity:

accipio venerans tua iussa tuumque
dulce sacrum, pater omnipotens (I, 181-2).

The newly added phrase, *dulce sacrum*, very appropriate to the context, may come from a passage in Statius (*Theb.*, IV, 231), a favorite author of the poet, and took precedence over the previous wording, 'accipio libens mandata Tonantis', which could have owed something to Mantuan (*Parthenice prima*, II, 594). At this point in the *Christeis* the angel takes leave of Mary and she entrusts a message to him, asking that he bear witness to her virginity before the heavenly throng. Much more effectively in his revision Sannazaro inserts here the miracle of the mysterious infusion of the Holy Spirit into the womb of the Virgin, clothing the episode in mystical language, his source being a sermon of St. Cyprian cited in the margin of the autographs, which speaks of the *invictus vigor* of the Holy Spirit. From this suggestion a marvelous sequence is created:

vigor actus ab alto
irradians, vigor omnipotens, vigor omnia complens
descendit (I, 190-2).

It has both a liturgical and a lyric solemnity unequalled by any of the other writers who attempted this theme. One has but to compare Mantuan's crude image of an inflated bellows, (*Parthenice prima*, II, 663), which is pure bathos. All of nature bears witness to this supernatural event, whose repercussions are felt to the ends of the earth, a tradition that has its origin in the apocryphal gospels. In the midst of this disturbance of the natural order the angel takes flight, soaring above the clouds, and now the Virgin addresses her final prayer to him as he hovers between the crystalline heavens and the empyrean, which regions of the sky Sannazaro duly notes in the margin. The sequence is much more artistically satisfying. A brief, quiet interlude is added, as the Virgin thinks of her cousin Elizabeth and wonders at the transformation that has taken place within her womb.

From here the scene changes to limbo, where Fame has already brought the news of the miraculous occurrence. By means of the vivid dramatic device of '*repraesentatio*' Sannazaro has the prophet David foretell salient events in the life of Christ and his mother. He had to defend this poetic figure to his critics in Rome, explaining them as 'furori, cioè in quanto vede presenti le cose future' (Fantazzi-Perosa, p. 91). He goes on to explain that now that the Saviour has already been conceived in the Virgin's womb, the prophet recalls things seen only vaguely in the past in a new revelatory light. The scenes that flash before his eyes are almost hallucinatory in character ('concepit mente

furores', 'intorquens oculos', I, 242, 244). Each tableau is presented in a vivid, exclamatory fashion. First the aged prophet hails the birth of the child, in the *Christeis* presented more as the deliverer of the souls in limbo ('tantosque Erebi finire labores', *Christeis*, 203), but given a more universal redemptive quality in the revision ('tantos genitor voluit perferre labores', I, 246). David passes in his vision to proximate events in the life of Christ: the adoration of the Magi, the presentation in the temple, and the canticle of Simeon (not in the *Christeis*), then suddenly the horrific apparition of the slaughter of the innocents and a rather extended treatment of one of the seven sorrows of Mary, the loss of Jesus as a boy in Jerusalem. To depict her sorrow Sannazaro uses a lofty Virgilian phrase 'pulsabis sidera votis', (I, 286).

The culmination of these *furori* is a vision of Christ's passion: the glitter of armor, the nocturnal cohorts, the Mount of Olives, the scourging, the crown of thorns, the mocking soldiers. Before considering this meditation on the mystery of the sacrifice of the cross in the form of a prophetic vision it is necessary to make some brief reference to a series of poems on the passion both in the vernacular and in Latin that Sannazaro had been elaborating in the 1490's and into the beginning of the next century. A sensitive discussion of these compositions and their relation to one another is to hand in a recent article by Carlo Vecce together with a critical edition of the *De morte Christi ad mortales lamentatio*.²³ This last poem is essentially an amplification of a similar one in the vernacular, the *Lamentazione sopra al corpo del Redentor del mondo a' mortali*, which was in turn an elaboration of a 'capitolo' in 'terza rima' on the same subject.²⁴ This last composition has all the characteristics of a brief '*sacra rappresentazione*' or perhaps a devotional text to be recited together with the priest as part of the adoration of the cross in the liturgy of Good Friday. The word *legno* is often repeated, as in the antiphon *Ecce lignum crucis* sung by the priest in this ceremony. The verses of Sannazaro with their antithesis of Christ's sacrifice for mankind and man's ungrateful recompense resemble very much the '*improperia*' or reproaches sung in this same liturgical ceremony. The final redaction of the *Lamentazione* expands the '*capitolo*' from eight to fifteen '*terzine*' and broadens its theme from Christ's human sufferings

²³ Carlo Vecce, '*Maiora numina*. La prima poesia religiosa e la *Lamentatio* di Sannazaro', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* (1991), 49-94.

²⁴ *Opere volgari*, ed. A. Mauro, pp. 210-11 and 140-1.

and their emotional response in the faithful to the plaint of nature and the elements at the death of their creator.

For our purposes, the Latin poem is of interest as an earlier treatment of the theme that forms part of David's prophecy. It is the dramatic situation that distinguishes the two passages. The *Lamentatio* is addressed to the human race with the second person plural of the verb used throughout — *aspicite, videtis, cernitis* — to exhort the hearers to repentance at this sight and to prepare them for the final day of judgment. David's vision is an anguished personal experience; only once does he use the form *viden*, but with no listener in mind. There are a few verbal echoes: *mens caeca hominum* (*Lamentatio*, 56; *De partu* I, 309-10), *pia pandat brachia* (*Lamentatio*, 80-1), *liventia pandet brachia* (*De partu*, I, 329); *pectus hians* (*Lamentatio*, 50), *lato patefactum pectus hiatu* (*De partu*, I, 332). Variant readings of the *Lamentatio* demonstrate that Sannazaro suppressed certain violent descriptions of the suffering Christ and seems to have concentrated more on the preternatural changes occurring in the universe and the sublunary world at the death of the *hominum rerumque parentem* (v. 7). In general, the art of the later poem is clearly superior to this earlier attempt in its Latinity and dramatic effect. The final elaboration of this section makes some significant improvements on the *Christeis*, especially by exalting Christ's victory in death and its salvific effects for mankind. Rather repetitive and even stilted phrases of the *Christeis* become more humanized with emphasis on the fact of redemption, as in:

illum regemque deumque
humanaeque ducem vitae fontemque salutis (I, 376),

and the beautiful '*enjambement*' calling to mind the famous hymn of Venantius Fortunatus:

unde hominum lux illa decorque
pendeat (I, 327-8).

The biblical passage cited in the margin of the autographs gives John 1,4 as the source: '*Et vita erat lux hominum*'

It is at this point that Sannazaro inserts the masterful passage that he composed after the *Christeis* on the lamentation of Mary at the foot of the cross, worthy of the best traditions of the vernacular '*pianti della vergine*', exemplified by the famous dialogue between the dying Christ and his mother, of Jacopone da Todi and the *Stabat Mater*, often attributed to him. This text is also preserved as a separate composition in three

miscellaneous codices, which bear witness to authorial variants visible under the erasures of the two autographs.²⁵ They are very numerous for a passage of only thirty-five lines and for the most part tend to reduce the high pitch of emotion, e. g., v. 335 substitutes *demissa* for *discissa* (*genas*) and *effusa* for *laniata* (*capillos*), and v. 342 *incipit* for *ingemit*. Sannazaro does not hesitate to usurp a phrase from Virgil's *Fifth Eclogue*, in which the mother of the pastoral god Daphnis cries out her grief to the heavens, 'crudelia sidera' (*ecl.*V, 23 and *De partu*, I, 339-40). He admits in a letter to Seripando that it had always given him doubts about the theology but never about its poetic validity. Yet, having passed muster with the most scrupulous theologians, it was allowed to stand, although the poet proposes a rather banal *pectora* ('anchor che non dica tanto', Fantazzi-Perosa, pp. 91-2), in case it did not find acceptance with the Most Reverend Giles of Viterbo. *Aerumnas*, however, the original and preferred reading of the poet at v. 351, did not find with approval, despite the poet's protests, to the detriment of the poetry.

After the initial description of the sorrowing Virgin, Sannazaro suddenly interrupts the narrative, having David apologize, as it were, for what he will relate:

Ac si iam comperta mihi licet ore profari
omnia (I, 337-8).

V. 337 is omitted from the independent version and is written into the margin of the autographs. The previous version, continuing the narrative without interruption, had

inspectansque sui demum morientia nati.

The intervening passage takes away from the dramatic scene, causing one to wonder whether once again the poet was driven by religious scruples or criticism to insert this line.

²⁵ It is found in a MS of the University of Bologna (Cod. 400) containing various examples of religious poetry; in a miscellany of works formerly belonging to the convent of Santissima Annunziata and now among the collection of MSS of suppressed convents deposited in the Laurenziana (Conv. Soppr. 440); and in a MS of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, where it was discovered some years ago by Alessandro Perosa. In both the Bologna and the Florentine MSS a similar lament, twice as long as Sannazaro's, from the 5th book of Vida's *Christiad* is also present. The Parisan codex bears the strange title, *Carmen super planctum mariae Virginis quod puer Italus Adriano Pontifici obtulit*, and thereby hangs a tale, which Professor Perosa has ingeniously reconstructed: Alessandro Perosa, 'Un codice parigino del *Planctus Virginis* del Sannazaro', in *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte* (Urbino, 1987), pp. 473-90.

The account of the upheavals of nature that follow on the death of Christ is a mixture of Christian and pagan elements. In v. 372 a felicitous revision of one word, the rather humble *fuligine*, to the more poetic *ferrugine* is owed to a passage in Virgil describing the aftermath of the death of Caesar (*Georg.*, I, 467), a word he had also used in the same context in the *Lamentatio* (v. 24). The liberation of the souls from limbo gives the poet scope for a colorful tableau. This subject had been a favorite one in the figurative arts as well as in poetry, and several humanist poets had experimented with it, in particular, Macario Muzio in his *De triumpho Christi*. Both Muzio and Sannazaro draw on the legends contained in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, in which a vision of Christ's triumphal entrance into limbo is portrayed. As Giulia Calisti remarks,²⁶ Sannazaro might well have been aware of it through the widely circulated *Legenda aurea* of Jacopo da Voragine. Another possible source, especially for the description of the '*Quadriga Christi*', to which Sannazaro alludes in the margin, is the procession of the Church triumphant in canto xxix of the *Purgatorio* (vv. 106-154). To introduce the scene the poet adds in the revision the paean to Christ which David sings, punctuated by a ritual exclamation from Roman religion: 'Victor, io; bellator, io' (I, 404). In both representations the four living creatures from the vision of Ezechiel and the *Apocalypse* representing the four evangelists draw the chariot of Christ. Sannazaro's account is very descriptive, as if it were based on a miniature richly adorned with gold and various colors in some manuscript. At the end of his description he makes specific reference to its pictorial qualities:

veros agnoscere vultus
est illic, veros montes et flumina credas
et vera extremo Babylon nitet aurea limbo (I, 437-9).

He had composed such a triumph before in his *Farsa per la presa di Granata*, and he must himself have witnessed such pageants in Naples. As the glorious procession continues, select souls follow their liberator to the starry realms and the magnificent habitations predicted in the Book of Revelation. At this exit the gloomy halls of Erebus shudder and its monstrous denizens resume their horrible tasks. The book ends with this vivid evocation of the immobile hopelessness of the pagan

²⁶ Giulia Calisti, *Il De Partu Virginis di Jacobo Sannazaro* (Città di Castello, 1926), p. 69, n. 2.

underworld which now gives way to the harbingers of redemption, as Mary sets out to visit her cousin Elizabeth at the beginning of Book II.

It is not possible to pursue the poet's blend of Christian and classical elements through the remaining books, but we may end with the skillful integration into the poem of the prophetic verses of Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue* (III, 200-36). They are sung by two shepherds in homage to the new-born child, whom they see as the fulfilment of the Roman poet's prophecy:

Hoc erat, alme puer, patriis quod noster in antris
Tityrus attritae spreuit rude carmen avenae (III, 197-8).

In this way Sannazaro subtly acknowledges his debt to Giles of Viterbo, who had written allegorical eclogues in this same syncretic manner. Here Virgil's exaltation of the bucolic genre, 'paulo maiora canamus', is put explicitly to the service of the Christian dispensation, to propagate the great mystery of the Incarnation, which was preached with such powerful eloquence by Giles in the churches of Rome at this time.²⁷ While there can be little doubt about Sannazaro's sincere piety and devotion to the Mother of God, he remains the first and foremost a poet and liege of his beloved Virgil, as is expressed in the beautiful epitaph that adorns his tomb, composed by Cardinal Bembo:

Da sacro cineri flores. Hic ille Maroni
Syncerus Musa proximus ut tumulo.

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²⁷ Cf. John O'Malley, 'Man's Dignity, God's Love and the Destiny of Rome', *Viator*, 3 (1972), 389-416.

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RHETORICAL STRATEGIES IN VIVES' PEACE WRITINGS:
THE LETTER TO CHARLES V AND THE *DE CONCORDIA*

The humanist educator and philosopher Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) was from the beginning a person with a peculiarly narrow maneuvering field, as a result of a combination of birth circumstances and choice.¹ As a faithful Roman Christian but an ethnic Jew, he chose his topics carefully to avoid the perils of theological dispute. As an expatriate to the Low Countries, he spent his career at a distance from the Valencian community with which, in his writings, he identified himself all his life as his place of origin. Loath to attach himself too closely to any one educational institution, he spent many of his years in search of patrons who would assure him financial stability. Non-cleric, he was without the protection that an order or a hierarchy might sometimes provide. And finally, as a pacifist in a period of violent turmoil in and around Europe, he was inevitably bound to offer advice to political leaders that had little chance of acceptance.

It follows that a study of his rhetorical practice, alongside analysis of his rhetorical theory, promises to reveal in detail how he compensated for the narrow maneuvering field. Rhetoric, after all, is the art and science of seeking the available means of persuasion, and Vives was a man who wanted fervently to have his say in the community arena, but whose political ideals were sure to be a hard sell in his time and place.

The *De concordia et discordia* of 1529 is a good case study because it is one of Vives' major political writings, it sketches some of his highest pacifist ideals, and it comes accompanied by a dedicatory epistle to Charles V, the monarch of Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor, and a ruler hardly likely to attend to a pacifist worldview of the kind promoted

¹ Citations of Vives' texts are from *Ioannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia* (abbreviated *VOO*), edited by Gregorius Majansius, 8 vols. (Valencia, 1782), by volume and page number, with modified punctuation and orthography. The *De concordia*, cited frequently by page only, occurs in Vol. 5. *EE* = *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, edited by P. S. Allen (Oxford, 1906-1958), with citations by epistle and line. *ASD* = *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam, 1969ff.).

by Vives. Commentators such as Dust and Riba García, while providing encomia to Vives' lofty pacifist vision as expressed in the *De concordia*, are not concerned with tracing the fault lines of tension between ideals and audience.² McCully's valuable examination, likewise, does not systematically address the conflicts between aspirations and audience limitations that one might see by examining features of the work's rhetoric.³

It would be altogether too easy to judge Vives' rhetorical practice by commenting on whether he affected the performance of European monarchs: there is no hard evidence that he succeeded in this way. However, if we take another approach and view his apparent failure in this regard as an index of the difficulty of the task, we can flesh out our picture of his practical attempts to formulate persuasive discourse. This is an important undertaking because, as is well known, Vives belongs to a movement to fuse logical coherence with appeals to emotion in the theory of public communication, a movement in which he is often regarded as an heir of Rudolf Agricola, the Frisian humanist of the previous century. What needs to be done is to examine Vives' practice in order to amplify, and perhaps modify, our awareness of his theory, which has been closely observed.

My intention then is to explore some of the techniques Vives used in grappling with a next-to-impossible challenge, one on which he himself had expressed doubts in the persona of Tiresias in the *De Europae dissidiis et bello Turcico* of 1526. There the Theban prophet fears that out-of-control emotions have made it too late for European monarchs to heed any sensible advice.⁴ My question, perforce, is not "How did Vives do it?" but "How did he try to do it?" To rephrase it more specifically, what tactics did he adopt to render his pacifist ideas accessible to the mind of this Hapsburg ruler who had no trouble in resorting to violence or bribery to achieve his goals, whose record had just been tarnished by his implication in the military campaigns that led to the horrifying sack of Rome in 1527, and who at the same time was Vives' best hope for bringing reconciliation to a Europe torn by religious, political, and military strife?

² Philip Dust, *Three Renaissance Pacifists: Essays in the Theories of Erasmus, More, and Vives* (New York, 1987), pp. 135-90. Carlos Riba y García, *Luis Vives y el pacifismo. Lección inaugural de los Estudios del Año académico 1933-1934 en la Universidad de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza, 1933), pp. 51-57.

³ George E. McCully, Jr., *Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) and the Problem of Evil in His Time* (Diss. Columbia University, 1967), pp. 214-61.

⁴ VOO 6.466; cf. 481.

The limits of this study dictate a selective examination. Among the tactics to be observed I will focus first on the internal conflicts that surface when we place the *De concordia* alongside the dedicatory epistle to Charles, beginning with a survey of the allusions to Alexander the Great in the *De concordia*. This is a rather predictable exercise. Alexander, as often in humanist peace writings, is the power crazed conqueror. In Book 1, Charles the Bold's stupid 15th century rebellion, which lost Burgundy for his heiress Mary to Louis XI of France,⁵ is attributed to his misguided desire to emulate the blind ambition of Alexander (215). Shortly afterward, when the subject is violence committed at the behest of women, Vives cites the Macedonian conqueror's disgraceful compliance with the prostitute Thais in burning the palace at Persepolis (217).⁶ In another commonplace allusion to Alexander's questionable victories Vives asks: When did he achieve greater glory, in the conquest of all Asia, or in his merciful treatment of the defeated Darius' family (294)? The parallel to Charles here is especially noteworthy; now, by analogy, the suspect glory of the emperor's military conquests pales before the honor he would win by achieving a reconciliation between himself and the parties defeated in his armies' Italian successes.⁷ And finally, Alexander appears twice with his hapless Scythian victims, who complain that the more he has, the hungrier he becomes for what is not his, and who later caution that he cannot expect to make friends with those he has defeated (264, 324).

But Alexander's presence in the dedicatory epistle to the *De concordia* from Vives to Charles is quite different. In an apparent allusion to the League of Cognac⁸ around which Charles' enemies crystallized in Italy prior to the sack of Rome, Vives bestows this lavish encomium on the emperor:

⁵ Bernard Chevalier, "France from Charles VII to Henry IV," in Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James V. Tracy, ed., *Handbook of European History* (New York, 1994), vol. 1, 375.

⁶ Note Alexander's classification as a bandit in *De Europae dissidiis et bello Turcico*, VOO, 6, 472.

⁷ Cf. also Vives' recommendation later (p. 325) that Charles emulate the Romans in exercising clemency (!) toward the conquered.

⁸ The Holy League of Cognac, assembled May 22, 1526, included France, Pope Clement VII, Milan, Florence, and Venice. Cf. e.g. John E. Longhurst in Alfonso de Valdés, *Alfonso de Valdés and the Sack of Rome: Dialogue of Lactancio and an Archdeacon*, translated with introduction and notes by Longhurst with the collaboration of Raymond R. MacCurdy (Albuquerque, 1952), p. 27, n. 11.

Conspirarunt tot reges ac nationes, coierunt metuendam societatem potentiae... Tu velut gladio nodum illum discidisti, ut nemo sit cui non fiat perspicuum hos tantos tamque admirandos successus non humanarum esse virium, sed divinarum, qui tibi viam ad pulcherrimum aliquod et maximum opus communit, si velis ingredi.

A host of kings and nations conspired, and engaged in a formidable alliance of powers;... You hewed apart the knot as if with a sword, in such a way as to make it obvious to everyone that these mighty and awesome successes, which open the path to a splendid and historic achievement — if you but choose to travel that path — are the fruit of divine, not human, strength. (VOO, 5. 188)⁹

Vives doubtless presumed that Charles would accept the parallel between the emperor and the cutter of the original Gordian Knot as a compliment, and that the weapon imagery would flatter the young emperor.

Here in the dedicatory epistle, then, evocation of Alexander goes hand in hand with glory to God for Charles' major victories; but we find a quite dissimilar interpretation of one of these successes when we return to *De concordia*, Book 3:

Per triginta annos perniciosum Christiano nomini Gallia cum Hispania gerit bellum paene continens: ademit Hispanus Gallo Neapolim, Navarram, Ruscinonem, tot illi clades attulit, tot exercitus obsidione occidit, regem ad ultimum cepit... Non hic cano Hispaniae encomium, aliis ego illam rebus laudatam vellem, non his armis et victoriis, hoc est latrociniiis et crudelitate...

Practically without interruption for thirty years France waged with Spain a war that brought great harm to the Christian name. Spain took Naples, Milan, Navarre, Rousillon from the French, inflicted so many disasters, mowed down so many armies in sieges, and to top it off captured the enemy king... This is not a song in praise of Spain. I would rather see her honored for other achievements, and not for battles and victories, which by their true names are merely plunder and atrocity. (VOO, 5. 283)

Latrocinium, plunder, recalls the first reference to Alexander in the *De concordia* where Vives alters the ancient declaration to assert that Alexander "came all this way to make war, that is, to commit robbery"

⁹ Vives further sacralizes Charles' success by pointing out (VOO, 5. 189) that, being so favored by heaven, he has direct obligations to his divine Benefactor that even outstrip his debt to his fellow humans. Cf. also VOO, 5. 190; "Boni omnes, et quotquot te propius noverunt, sperant, ac pro certo compertoque habent, eam futuram perfectionem maximorum operum, quae inchoasti, de quibus iam pridem te animo agitare decet, et profecto iam agitas, nisi nos et ea quae hactenus fecisti bellissime fallunt..." The historical reference must be to the victorious campaigns in Italy, including the sack of Rome.

("Hucusque bellabundus, hoc est, latrocinabundus pervenit Alexander", *VOO*, 5. 215).

Alexander is not the only figure from ancient myth/history engaged to flatter Charles in the epistle; Hercules appears also. Charles' own coat of arms features, among other things, the Pillars of Hercules along with the motto *plus ultra*, pointing to overseas conquests awaiting the Emperor. Vives chooses to link the image with the side-tale of how Hercules once spelled Atlas the world bearer at the western end of the Euro-African landmass. The humanist hopes that Charles will construe himself another Hercules as he girds himself to hoist the daunting but divinely-appointed task of restoring harmony to Christendom. If we circle back to the *De concordia*, however, we find Hercules, like Alexander, remembered invidiously as an instance of a mortal Euhemeristically, and unjustly, divinized for criminal deeds committed as a warrior and a dominator of nations (213-15).

These conflicting images in the *De concordia* and its dedicatory epistle occur in an atmosphere of heated quarreling generated almost immediately in Europe over the degree of Charles' culpability for the sack of Rome.¹⁰ In a letter to Erasmus dated June 1527, Vives had expressed the feeling that Christ had provided, via the "victory" of the Emperor and the imprisonment of the Pope, "an excellent opportunity for our times" (*kalliston... tois hemeterois chronois kairon*).¹¹ Noreña, in the course of arguing for Vives' pan-European vision, allows that

after Vives returned to Bruges in 1528, for a short period of his life, he was strongly affected by the Erasmian imperialists of the Spanish court who saw in Charles V the divine instrument of Spanish supremacy and the only salvation against Lutheran heresy and Turkish invasion. Nevertheless, exception made for those years, Vives remained always neutral and detached from any nationalistic passion. He considered the Imperial Crown of Charles "a merchandise bought with huge amounts of money and terrible intrigues".¹²

But since the adulatory letter to Charles is the dedication for the very work, *De concordia*, whose first three volumes are in Noreña's own words "an eloquent attack against the insanity of war," and implicitly

¹⁰ Judith Hook, *The Sack of Rome* (London, 1971), pp. 279-83.

¹¹ Vives to Erasmus, June 13, 1527 (*EE* 1836 66-67). Cf. Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne*, edited by Daniël Devoto and Charles Amiel, 3 vols (Geneva, 1991), I, 284. P. S. Allen presumes that "victories" refers to the sack, which Erasmus feared was but the prelude to more violence. Cf. Hook (cited n. 10 supra), p. 283. On Vives' support of Charles cf. also Carlos Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague, 1970), pp. 141-42.

¹² Noreña (cited n. 11 supra), p. 226.

one of the best examples of Vives' pan-European vision, attention to the dedicatory epistle of the *De concordia* shows the pro-Charles and the pan-European viewpoints to be, for the moment, not sequential but simultaneous.

Vives' 1529 letter pictures Charles on the verge of his journey to Italy to settle his affairs personally. Judith Hook outlines the high hopes people had for this trip, and chronicles the hostilities against Florence which ensued after the double coronation of Charles at Bologna in December 1529.¹³ Vives asserts that it would be most imprudent for the Emperor to use the occasion to subdue the peninsula. Thus Vives warns against the prospect of another Imperial campaign, even while attributing successful past conflicts to divine providence, and thereby faithfully echoing the opinions — or at least the propaganda — of Charles himself and those around him.¹⁴

The flattery of Charles has a counterpart in Vives' comparatively respectful treatment of the English found in the 1526 anthology, *De Europae dissidiis et re publica*, which I have discussed in an earlier paper.¹⁵ But, as we have now seen, at least three lively images in the letter to Charles associate his successes and opportunities with divine power. They contrast strikingly with the absence of such mythological inflation in the epistles to Englishmen (Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey, John Longland the Bishop of Lincoln) and to Pope Adrian VI published in 1526; Vives indicates by his choice of rhetorical strategies here that he expects flamboyant associations with heroic divinity to work better with the Emperor than with English statesmen.

In the dedicatory epistle, then, Vives is playing up to Charles' self-image as a divinely appointed warrior, though implying hope for peaceful objectives to his activity. The Valencian humanist follows up this drastic act of circumspection by carefully postponing in the *De concordia*, first, any mention of war at all; secondly, any mention of Italy's devastation; and thirdly, any direct criticism by name of Charles, which criticism does occur, but only once, as we shall see shortly.

First: His distribution of allusions to Charles' wars, or in fact any specific contemporary wars, is judicious, and often made less pointed by

¹³ Hook (cited n. 10 supra), pp. 253-56.

¹⁴ Cf. Karl Brandt, *The Emperor Charles V* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1980), pp. 259-62.

¹⁵ 'Juan Luis Vives' *De Europae dissidiis et bello Turcico*: Its Place in the 1526 Ensemble', Forthcoming in the *Acta* of the Ninth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Bari, 1994).

association with ancient wars. Except for a very casual reference to the Peloponnesian Wars after eight Majansius pages, the root of the word *bellum* does not appear until 17 pages into the treatise, in a grammatically subordinate context:

Ad pugnam et gladium provocant alii hominem procerum, aut elegantem, in experimentum virium; alii robustum et valentem, ut animum explorent; sunt qui exterum, ut sciat inter cuiusmodi agat viros; alii Germanum, aut Hispanum, aut Helvetium, propter *bellicam* harum gentium famam, ut canes, quibus ad rixam satis est praeter ostium transisse.

Some men challenge a prominent or elegant person to a duel with swords to test their strength; others dare a strong, healthy opponent, as a trial of courage. Still others threaten a foreigner, to let him know what real men he has fallen in with. Like dogs whose only reason for battle is that someone has come through the front door, people will pick a fight with a German or a Spaniard or a Swiss, merely because of those nations' reputation for combat. (*VOO*, 5. 205)

Here Vives only indirectly evokes the campaigns leading to the sack of Rome: the peoples he cites were all involved in those Italian campaigns of 1526-27. And as McCully notes, it is only seven pages later (at 212) that Vives passes from the causes of discord in general to war specifically.¹⁶

Nor is it until the beginning of the Third Book that Vives focuses explicitly on the appalling events in Italy. In lamenting the ravages caused by armies in and out of battle, he cites the devastation of the once prosperous Po Valley (256-57), and soon after, for the first time, the sack of Rome:

Hoc funesto bello, quod tam diu Europam afflixit concursu duorum potentissimorum principum Caroli Caesaris et Francisci Galliae regis, Lusitani neutri partium accesserunt, nec ideo tamen continuerunt ab eis manus Galli: nuper capta Roma, nec Germanus miles Germano incolae pepercit nec Hispano Hispanus. Quid potest expulsa iustitia esse tutum, quae sola praestat tutam imbecillitatem inter vires?

In this deadly conflict which tormented Europe so long with the dispute between two powerful princes, Charles the Emperor and Francis the French king, the neutrality of the Portuguese did not save them from the violence of the French; in the recent capture of Rome, German and Spanish soldiers did not even spare their countrymen. When justice, the only safeguard for the weak in a time of disorder, is cast out, nothing is safe. (*VOO*, 5. 257)

¹⁶ McCully (cited n. 3), p. 242.

The formal way of introducing the two kings points to this as their first occurrence in the *De concordia*, which indeed it is. Even here the reference to French attacks on Portugal, which at best were peripheral to Italian campaigns, is puzzling, unless we ascribe it to Vives' concern to divert attention away from Charles' violence and toward that of Francis.¹⁷

The reader familiar with his earlier *Sullan Declamations* (1520) will recall that Vives had rehearsed a simpler version of this tactic of delaying unpleasant words to a powerful ruler. In the First Declamation the fictitious Roman Republican character Fundanus, advising the dangerous dictator Sulla to keep his dictatorship, saves his riskiest but most crucial argument until his speech is about four fifths finished: then he finally makes bold to remind Sulla how many thousands of executions the dictator ordered, what a harvest of hate he thereby reaped, and how many enemies are waiting to take advantage of the chance for vengeance if he abdicates.¹⁸ Vives' choice of situation for the dry run in the *Sullan Declamations* is testimony to his astuteness in anticipating what sort of situations he was likely to face in monarch-dominated Europe.

Soon (pp. 260-61) Italy is pitied for its long history of warfare, culminating in the sad situation of Vives' day, as if the fabled serpent representing Hannibal had visited the peninsula again "for these [past] nine years" (261). Without naming names Vives notes that two kings, who in fact must be Charles and Francis,¹⁹ now control what twenty lesser rulers once administered bountifully; he summarizes the result in a series of blunt antitheses:

Confer mihi nunc hos tam late imperantes cum illis regulis; non aedificant, immo diruunt; non locupletant sodalitia, immo spoliunt; alunt paucos et magna ex parte inutiles, ne quid dicam peius; ab omnibus auferunt, nemini dant, nisi maligne et sordide.

¹⁷ My colleague Dr. Norwood Andrews, Jr., suggests that the allusion may even be to conflicts between the French and the Portuguese in the New World.

¹⁸ Juan Luis Vives, *Declamationes Sullanae, Part One* (edited by E. V. George: Leiden, 1989), pp. 48-50 (*DS* 1.33: pp. 48-50). Cf. E. V. George, 'The *Sullan Declamations*: Vives' Intentions', in S. P. Revard et al., ed., *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbyani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Binghamton, NY, 1988), p. 57.

¹⁹ Antonio Fontán, *Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540): Humanista, Filósofo, Político* (Madrid, 1992), p. 48, describes the competition between France and Spain as "el gran drama de Europa" of the time.

Come now and compare these far-flung rulers with their more modest predecessors. They do not build, they destroy; they do not make communities prosperous, but rob them; they fatten a few mostly useless people (whom I refrain from calling something worse); they take from everybody, and except in malice and dishonor they give to no one. (VOO, 5. 264)

We are closing in gradually on the one place in the whole *De concordia* where Vives drops the mask and points the finger by name directly at Charles, when he comes to the ugly business of hiring mercenaries:

Quid quod cogeant principes saeve ac impotenter habere suos populos, et omnia iuris et legum cura, militariter in castris insanire, quo se militibus approbarent, gratique essent illis ob vitae similitudinem, alioqui non habituri imperium diuturnum? Et his bellis proximis, quam serviliter Gallus Helvetio se submitit, Carolus desperatissimae ac perditissimae Germaniae atque Hispaniae faeci! ... Principes nobilissimi et praeclarissimi... coacti sunt... eis propter bellum adulari, quos in pace crucifixissent.

And look how they made princes treat their own subjects with uncontrolled brutality, forget the enforcement of laws and rights, and play the role of lunatics in camp to win the soldiers' approval, pleasing them by adopting their way of life; for this was the only way these rulers could retain their power. Look how slavishly the French toadied to the Swiss in these most recent wars, and Charles kowtowed to the most hopeless and abandoned trash of Germany and Spain! Princes of the highest nobility and renown were constrained to shower esteem on people whom in peacetime they would have tortured to death. (VOO, 5. 268-69)

Having escalated carefully to the moment, Vives finally allows himself this first and last instance of plain indignation aimed by name at his dedicatee, 76 Majansius pages from the beginning and 134 pages from the end of the *De concordia*.²⁰ In fact Charles is mentioned briefly only twice more in the remainder of the work, and not for criticism on either occasion.

A piece of advice from Vives himself in the *De concordia*, closely resembling in form his own rhetorical prescriptions offered elsewhere, throws light on what is happening here. Principles laid down by him for maintaining harmony include reasons for avoiding conflict with potential adversaries that are stronger, weaker, or equal by comparison to us. In an approach reminiscent of the techniques found in the *De consultatione*²¹, on giving advice, he breaks down the aggregate of all

²⁰ Later the sack of Rome is briefly mentioned as an example of the devastation war brings upon arts and letters (307), but with no citation of guilty parties.

²¹ VOO, 2. 239. Written in 1523. Cf. E. V. George, 'Rhetoric in Vives', in Antonio Mestre, ed., *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia* (Valencia, 1992), I, 140.

people one deals with into sub-classes: the old, the young, women, etc., and for our purposes the most interesting, those who have greater, less, or equal power by comparison to ourselves. He advises: "To contend with a stronger party is crazy; with a weaker, shameful; with an equal in power, risky."²² McCully, cognizant of the dedicatory epistle, notices the relevance of Charles' status as dedicatee when Vives cautions that a stronger contender might incur a loss in a conflict through the injudicious exercise of anger.²³ McCully could easily have added a remark on the significance of the first principle, that a weaker opponent should avoid taking on a stronger one. (Vives, in an unabashed moment of practicality, says the reason such an encounter is "crazy" is that the weaker party will lose.) In attempting to influence Charles, Vives himself is in effect risking conflict with a stronger opponent. But engage Charles he must. The rhetorical devices which I am describing here constitute Vives' attempts to submerge, or keep relatively out of sight, the indications that he is taking on the Emperor as an adversary. In brief, he will take his task as a challenge to enter into a *querela*, or quarrel, without making it look any more like a *querela* than absolutely necessary. Recollection of Vives' chosen motto, *Sine querela* (VOO, 4, 54), is natural.

There is one more tactic which Vives uses as a mask for the quarrel: the citation of ancient exempla, but for the rather ironic purpose of diverting attention from the modern individual whose behavior the exempla are supposed to illuminate. In one three-page segment (213-215), for instance, Vives is discussing competition for glory as an unworthy motive for conquest. Here, in part, is McCully's description of these pages:

Evil had come, then, to be rewarded with dominion, and right to be ruled by might. This was the source of the widespread admiration given to warriors in Vives' time, and which had been encouraged by ancient literature, of which Vives gave examples.... So to Charles Vives said, "Beware that it does not appear that you wish to dominate rather than simply to rule, and that it is government that you desire and not tyranny".²⁴

Vives not merely recalls ancient examples, as McCully says; he does so at tedious length, while the one modern he mentions is not Charles the Emperor, but Charles the Bold of Burgundy. We encounter, in the

²² "Cum validiore certare, insanum; cum infirmiore, turpe; cum pari, periculosum": VOO, 5, 361.

²³ McCully (cited n. 3 supra), p. 353.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 243. In footnotes 50 and 51 to these passages McCully refers the reader to VOO, 5.213ff. and 213-15.

following order, with the divine members of the list included as mortals Euhemerized into immortality:

Caesar and Pompey
 Pyrrhus
 Hannibal
 "Vexor of Egypt"
 Tanais of Scythia
 Hercules
 Dionysus of Thebes
 Homer's Phemius (immortalizer of martial heroes)
 Jupiter
 Mars
 Hercules (again)
 Liber (Bacchus)
 Thebans, Argives, Athenians, Spartans
 Greeks and Trojans
 Thersites
 Achilles (more honored than Nestor)
 Alexander
 Pompey and Caesar (again)
 Charles of Burgundy, Emulator of Alexander, beaten by Louis of France
 Amazons, challenging the Athenians
 Romans and Carthaginians (unable to master themselves at home, seeking foreign conquests)

If McCully is accurate in reading here an admonition to the Emperor Charles, who at the moment has the option of building on his recent record with further conquests, Vives has succeeded in conveying his message without a single direct allusion to any of Charles' past or present deeds or misdeeds, essaying only a single brush with "modern" times by adding the then-deceased Duke of Burgundy to the list. In fact, one might even wonder if the Duke was chosen because he was the Emperor's namesake, thus bringing Vives even a step closer to his target without striking it. In other words, Vives here exhibits a rather extraordinary quality for sixteenth century writing, if we resort to John D. Lyons' analysis of exempla in that period for background; exempla, as we see here, can paradoxically veil the true object of the author's censure, by drawing the reader's attention away from this object.²⁵

²⁵ Cf. J. D. Lyons, *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 25-34. In beginning with general remarks on example and its roots in ancient and medieval theory and practice, Lyons employs a working definition of it as "a dependent statement qualifying a more general and independent statement by naming a member of the class established by the general statement" (p. x). He identifies

Another example occurs in Book 2, in the Chapter On the Inhumane Pursuit of Conflict (pp. 235-39), where the discussion may be paraphrased and compressed as follows: People fight more readily over luxuries or conveniences than necessities. The Gauls, the Helvetii, and the Goths (all invaders of the ancient Roman Empire) came south not to save their lives but in search of the delights of wine, oil, and southern scenery. Victims of a recent European famine, which hit Baetica in Spain particularly hard, did not take up arms to alleviate their hunger. On the other hand, flimsy excuses like an insulting word or greed and ambition drive us to war with each other. (Here Vives actually uses the first person plural.) And we suffer for it, as did world-class ancient losers like Cambyeses, Antony, Cyrus, Demetrius, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, Crassus, Pompey, numerous Roman emperors, the Helvetii, the Cimbri, and the Senonian Gauls. When the restraints of harmony fall away, atrocity knows no bounds. Pride dictates that the closer people are to us, the more grievous is our offense against them: consider Cain and Abel, Polynices and Eteocles, Atreus and Thyestes, Jugurtha and Adherbal, Nero and Britannicus. But why go so far abroad? The ruler of the Turks embarks on the execution of his brothers, as was a hallowed practice of the Persians.

Aetas patrum et nostra vidit fratres cum fratribus commissos, filios fratrum et sororum, a patris et avunculis occisos, fratres a fratribus interemptos, non solum inter principes Christianos, sed etiam in plebe; haec prodente me, hic Brugis duo fratres a fratribus sunt occisi, alter ob hereditatulum, alter ob verbulum.

Our generation and the preceding one has seen [murder among close relatives], not only among Christian princes but in the common population: for instance here in Bruges, two brothers were killed by their siblings, one over a pittance of a legacy, the other over a word. (VOO, 5. 238)

Christian princes are cited but unnamed. When Vives promises to come down to his own day we anticipate that he might take a daring step; but no, his loftiest contemporary reference is a safe one, the Sultan. He has used the convention of multiplying *exempla* as a shield against naming the European princes he has in mind.

"seven characteristics of example" culled from his reading of "late Renaissance texts", among which he includes the works of a writer as early as Vives's contemporary Machiavelli. While Lyons allows that "Example is limited neither by the verbal form... nor by the intended effect on the receiver of the speech" (p. 17), his discussion never remotely approaches the possibility of using ancient examples as a means of diverting attention from a contemporary figure at whom the examples are pointed. Perhaps Vives is out of the mainstream, if not unique, in using examples in this way in the *De concordia*.

Other instances occur. In Book 3 Vives offers a vivid antithesis. In times of conflict, he says, we have difficulty calling our own what we possess; in harmonious periods, even what belongs to others is open to us. There were times when Charles visited Britain and Henry went to Flanders, without troops; but now, neither party in a relationship (no names named) dares to look at another's country, let alone trying to enter it (pp. 278-79). There is nothing weaker than *any* political power during discord, continues Vives. Look at Cyrus, killed by a woman; Marcellus, slain by Hannibal's army; Pyrrhus, crafty and determined but like Hannibal a loser; Demetrius the Besieger, captured by Seleucus; Hasdrubal, seized by the Syracusans while they were under siege; John the king of France (the victim of the disaster at Poitiers in 1356), taken by the English after despising their outnumbered forces; and, finally, Pope Clement VII, whom all the resources of Rome itself and all his pontifical dignity could not save from an overturn of fortune. Vives then caps the litany with one of his favorite pacifist etymologies: people are right, he says, to call Mars "Mavors," the overthrower of the mighty. Clement, Charles' adversary, occurs as but the last in a long line of victims of fortune, and the focus on the sack of Rome is actually diminished.²⁶

My interpretation of Vives' practice finds support, I think, from two remarks he himself makes in the *De concordia*. Once, on the subject of emotions aroused in observers of conflict, he says, "I forebear to cite examples for fear of aggravating discord, which it is my desire to see cut off and extinguished." ("Exemplis est parcendum, ne discordiam quam perditam atque extinctam cupimus magis irriteremus", 284.) Here he obviously means modern examples. Later he notes how the ancient Romans regretted the corruption of bad habits carried home from Greece, Sicily, and Asia, and then adds that although "I do not wish to insult our own age too often" ("nolim aetatem nostram nimis saepe suggillare"), everybody knows how armies carry diseases, crime, and bad habits from one country to another (321-22). He then proceeds without citing any contemporary instances.

This tension in the texture of the *De Concordia* — between dealing with an adversary and mitigating the polemical character of the treatise — is more definable when we locate the work between two other closely

²⁶ For contrasting instances in which Vives declines to use the strategy discussed here see pp. 282-83 and 325.

related humanist writings on behalf of peace from the era; Alfonso de Valdés' Spanish dialogue *Lactancio*, a celebrated defense of Charles from imputations of guilt for the sack of Rome, and one of its principal sources of inspiration, Erasmus' *Querela pacis*, or *Complaint of Peace*.²⁷ In Erasmus' work, as in the *De concordia*, universal principles dominate; among individuals from modern history, the only certified villain is a dead pope (Julius II). When Erasmus charges that hostility to the French grows out of envy for French harmony and prosperity, he might be implicitly criticizing the Emperor Maximilian.²⁸ Nonetheless, in a rousing peroration which perhaps carries more hope than conviction, Erasmus extols Pope Leo X, Maximilian, Francis, Charles V and Henry VIII as willing partners in the search for peace.²⁹ Any feeling of stress over who among them is right or wrong, or what (if any) are the writer's personal obligations to them, does not manifest itself in the text. Unlike Charles as the addressee of the *De concordia*, the official recipient of the *Querela pacis* is an apparently inconsequential figure, Philip the new bishop of Utrecht, over whose role there is disagreement.³⁰ In any event Philip of Utrecht, unlike Charles in relation to Vives' *De concordia*, is not a Titanic figure who arouses conflicting tensions in the ensuing treatise.

Valdés' *Lactancio*, on the other hand, incorporates Erasmian generalities into a framework dictated by the author's position as Charles' secretary, and by his conviction of Charles' innocence.³¹ Apophthegms on the evils of war, often echoing Erasmus and even Vives, are now subordinated to the task of illustrating the immorality of one party, Charles' defeated papal antagonist Clement VII.³²

²⁷ See Erasmus, *Querela pacis*, edited by O. Herding (ASD, IV.2, pp. 1-100); Alfonso de Valdés, *Dialogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma*, edited by José Montesinos (Madrid, 1928); Alfonso de Valdés and the Sack of Rome: *Dialogue of Lactancio and an Archdeacon*, English version with introduction and notes by John E. Longhurst with the collaboration of Raymond R. MacCurdy (Albuquerque, 1952); and Margherita Morreale, 'Alfonso de Valdés y la *Querela Pacis* de Erasmo', in *Aureum Saeculum Hispanum: Beiträge zu Texten des Siglo de Oro*, edited by Karl-Hermann Kömer and Dietrich Briesemeister (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 231-44.

²⁸ *Querela*, ed. Herding, p. 80. Morreale (cited, previous note), p. 232, states that the *Querela Pacis*, written as an attempt to mediate a dispute between Francis and Maximilian, was addressed to secular rulers rather than Christianity at large.

²⁹ *Querela*, ed. Herding, pp. 86, 98-100.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³¹ Longhurst (cited above, n. 27), pp. 7-8.

³² On the *Lactancio* and the *De concordia*, see Longhurst, p. 29, n. 13.

Vives' *De Concordia* occupies a position between these two works. For while Vives like Erasmus means to enunciate controversial general principles, the choice of Charles as dedicatee shows that he means to aim these principles at a specific time, place, and audience in a more pointed way than does Erasmus. But while Valdés in the *Lactancio* incorporates the polemic overtly into the conversation between Lactancio and the archdeacon, the stooge whose defense of the pope collapses, Vives takes on Charles in the more surreptitious ways adumbrated above.³³

In conclusion, then, Vives engages a royal adversary, but with cunning. In the dedication he inflates his listener's self-importance by linking him with Alexander and Hercules, characters whom he will nonetheless employ in the *De concordia* proper as negative examples. He carefully postpones direct references to war, to the devastation of Italy, and to Charles' complicity in violence. He occasionally uses ancient exempla not to reinforce his criticism of contemporaries, but as sources of distraction from his modern target's guilt. In short, he defies his own prohibition against contending with a stronger adversary, but at the same time he does a great deal to make his *querela* look as little like a *querela* as possible.

There are other strategies in the *De concordia* waiting to be delineated; studying them will broaden our awareness of the range of Vives' rhetorical capabilities, and thus of the ways he negotiated the narrow territory within which he could afford to put forth his pacifist proposals, and at the same time hold out hope of being taken seriously.³⁴

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³³ I am indebted to Sydney Cravens and Ted McVay for discussions on the importance of Alfonso de Valdés in the controversy over Charles' role in the sack of Rome.

³⁴ I acknowledge the support of the Program for Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States Universities and the National Endowment for the Humanities for travel grants which facilitated the research on which this paper is based. I take this opportunity to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Prof. Usewijn over the past sixteen years; it is due primarily to his generosity and encouragement that the field of Neo-Latin studies has become the focus of my research.

G. Hugo TUCKER

MANTUA'S "SECOND VIRGIL":
DU BELLAY, MONTAIGNE AND THE CURIOUS FORTUNE OF
LELIO CAPILUPI'S *CENTONES EX VIRGILIO* [ROMAE, 1555]

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

A. Between Mantua and Rome, between Virgil and Petrarch

My topic is the intriguing literary case of Lelio Capilupi (1497-1560) of Mantua.¹ Like his celebrated younger brother Ippolito (1511-80), Lelio distinguished himself in the service of Mantua's ruling Gonzaga family, as a courtier in papal Rome, but also as a writer of neo-Latin verses. Since the sixteenth century these verses have been best known to modern scholars from their inclusion in the collected *Capiluporum carmina* of 1590, which were dedicated to Vincenzo Gonzaga Duke of Mantua (1587-1612).² However, Lelio was also no mean poet of the Italian vernacular. Several of his sonnets appeared in Petrarchist anthologies of *Rime* produced by Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari in the 1540s and 1550s, and then in Dionigi Atanagi's *Rime* of 1565.³ Indeed, the final accolade for Lelio's Italian productions came with the publication of all the Capilupis' collected *Rime* in Mantua in 1585.⁴

¹ For an overview of Lelio's life and works, see C. Mutini, 'CAPILUPI, Lelio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1960-), 18 (1975), pp. 542-3.

² *Capiluporum* [Hippolyti, Laelii, Camilli, Alphonsi, Iulii] *carmina*, ed. Iulius Capilupus and Iosephus Castalio (Romae, ex typographia haeredum Io. Lilioti, 1590), pp. 153-250; see O. Delepiepierre, 'Les Capilupi', in Id., *Tableau de la littérature du centon, chez les anciens et chez les modernes*, 2 tomes (Londres: N. Trübner, 1874-5), I (1874), 170-223. On Ippolito in particular, see G. De Caro, 'CAPILUPI, Ippolito', in *Dizionario biografico*, 18 (Roma, 1975), pp. 536-42.

³ See: *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss. autori nuovamente raccolte. Libro primo...* (In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1545), pp. 341-2; *Libro terzo de le rime di diversi...* (In Vinetia, appresso Bartholomeo Cesano, 1550), ff. 108^{vo}-113^{vo}; *Libro quinto delle rime di diversi...* (In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, et fratelli, 1555), p. 307; and *De le Rime di diversi nobili poeti Toscani, raccolte da M. Dionigi Atanagi. Libro primo...* (In Venetia, appresso Lodovico Avanzo, 1565), ff. 134^{vo}-143^{vo} [devoted to Lelio Capilupi].

⁴ *Rime del S. Lelio, e fratelli de Capilupi nuovamente poste in luce. All'illustrissimo, & eccellentissimo Don Ferrante Gonzaga, principe di Molfetta, & signor di Guastella &c.* (Mantova, per Francesco Osana, 1585) [= *Index Aureliensis* 131.599].

It was this bilingual aspect of Lelio's literary talent that was emphasized by his nephew Camillo Capilupi (1531-1603) in an anecdote about Lelio that survives in manuscript:⁵

Lelio Capilupi huomo di mirabil giuditio et di rara acutella [belleza *crossed out*] d' ingegno, come si po conoscer dalli xiii centone<s> de versi di Virgilio ch' egli compose che fecero stupir al mondo dell' arte et della destrezza dell' ingegno suo, senza che le rime [versi<?> *crossed out*] scritte da lui fanno anchor fede quanto egli fosse [andasse<?> *crossed out*] copioso di concetti et polito et culto [osservante *crossed out*] nella lingua Italiana, come un giorno si conoscerà meglio quando tutti i suoi scritti si vedranno in luce,....

However, Camillo Capilupi's attempt here to correct an imbalance between Lelio's standing as a neo-Latin poet and as a vernacular one is significant; it points to the fact that Lelio had acquired for himself particular fame, even notoriety, as the author of several ingeniously contrived (and in part, satirical) Virgilian *Centones* composed in the 1540s and early 1550s.⁶ The collected edition of "xiii centones" alluded to by

⁵ Camillo Capilupi, 'Atto di gran bonta et di auerimento di Lelio Capilupi per salvezza dell' honor et scarico dell' anima d'un suo amico morto' in MS Roma Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Em. 1009 [Capilupi, Camillo: 'Raccolta di aneddoti riferentisi a papi, sovrani, ambasciatori e altre personalità del sec. XVI'], ff. 12^{vo}-13^{vo} (f. 12^{vo}); see T. Gasparrini Leporace, *I manoscritti Capilupiani della Biblioteca Nazionale centrale di Roma*, Guida storica e bibliografica degli archivi e delle biblioteche d'Italia, 5 (Roma, 1939), p. 6.

⁶ Namely:

- (1) the satirical *Laelii Capilupi Mantuani cento ex Virgilio de vita monachorum et Gallus* (Venetiis, [Paulus Gerardus], 1543; "Venetiis" [really Lyons, Gioanni Pullon da Trino], 1550) — plus [just the *de vita*] (VVitembergae, 1545; [Zurich, c. 1545?]; [Basel, c. 1545?]; Edinburgi, 1565; "Romae" [really Genevae, Jacob Stoer], 1575) [= *Index Aureliensis* 131.592-8];
- (2) *Laelii Capilupi centonum ex Virgilio libri tres* [= (a) 'Ad principes Christianos Aristaeus', (b) 'Ad Rainutium Farnesium Damon', (c) 'In foeminas', influenced by Girolamo Fracastoro's *Syphilis sive morbus Gallicus* (Veronae, 1530)] ([Venetiis, Michael Tramezinus, c. 1545-50]) [only copy: Roma, Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Em. Misc. Val. 674.2];
- (3) *Laelii Capilupi Patritii Mantuani Centones ex Virgilio*, ed. Antonio Posseuino ([Romae, Valerius Doricus, 1555]), [incorporating, and adding to, the *centones* of (1) & (2)].

On these editions, see, most recently, D. E. Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi and the "Centones ex Virgilio"', *The Library*, 16/3 (September, 1994), 208-18; see also G. H. Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey: Joachim Du Bellay and the Antiquitez de Rome* (Oxford, 1990), p. 269.

To these should be added the following:

- (1) MS Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat. Lat. 9948, ff. 160^{vo}-61^{ro}: 'Lelii Capilupi Cento ex Virgilio de Vita Monachorum, quos Vulgò Fratres appellant' [vv. 1-16 only (f. 160^{vo}), plus the last sixteen verses of the 'Gallus' (f. 161^{ro})];

Camillo was printed by Valerius Doricus in Rome *circa* 1555. In it Lelio was extravagantly praised by his Roman contemporary Benedetto Egio of Spoleto (d. 1567) as the very reincarnation of Virgilius Maro:⁷

Si vera est Laeli Samii sententia vatis,
Quæ tua nunc anima est ante Maronis erat.

Later, Lelio would be complimented in similar vein — as Mantua's second Virgil — by his posthumous editor and anthologizer Giovanni Matteo Toscano, who introduced him as such to the French reading public of 1577 in the second volume of his *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum* (Paris, 1576-7):⁸

Quis neget hoc mirum, reliquis ex urbibus unum
Nullam, Virgilios te genuisse duos?

Yet such hyperbole glossed over the more subtle question of Lelio's poetic individuality. By contrast Ippolito Capilupi's epitaph for Lelio, composed upon his death (3 January, 1560), had been careful to stress the paradoxical distinctness of Lelio's borrowed Virgilian voice:⁹

- (2) the propagandistic edition of Lelio's 'de vita monachorum' (presenting it as a classic anti-Roman testimony from the past) in Mathias Flacius Illyricus, *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum, de corrupto Ecclesiae statu, poemata, ante nostram aetatem conscripta...* (Basileae, Ludovicus Lucius, Mar. 1557; dedicatory epistle signed 'Magdeb. I. Maii, anno Domini 1556'; re-printed 1986), pp. 355-70, on which see Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 86-7.

⁷ 'Benedictus Aegius ad Laelium Capilupum', in *Laelii Capilupi... Centones ex Virgilio* ([Romae, 1555]), p. 65. On Benedetto Egio, who produced the *editio princeps* (with facing Latin translation) of Apollodorus — *Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliothecae, sive de Deorum origine, tam graecè, quàm latinè... libri tres, Benedicto Aegio Spoletino interprete...* (Romae, Antonius Bladius, 1555) — and on his circle in the Rome of the 1550s (which included Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600), and Antonio Possevino (1533-1611), who also contributed to the 1555 Roman edition of Lelio Capilupi's *Centones*), see P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: sciences philologiques et historiques, 64 (Paris, 1887), pp. 6-7; E. Mandowsky and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities: The Drawings in MS XIII.B.7 in the National Library in Naples*, Studies of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 28 (London, 1963), pp. 29, 33; Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, p. 147; J. IJsewijn, 'Achilles Statius, a Portuguese Latin Poet in Late 16th Century Rome', in *Humanismo português na época dos descobrimentos: congresso internacional Coimbra 9 a 12 de outubro de 1991* (Coimbra, 1993), pp. 109-23 (pp. 116, 119); and, most recently, M. H. Crawford, 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy', in *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. M. H. Crawford (London, 1993), pp. 133-54.

⁸ Ioannes Mathaeus Toscanus, 'De Laelio Capilupio' [laudatory address to Mantua], vv. 5-6, in Id. (ed.), *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum*, 2 vols (Lutetiae, Aegidius Gorbinius, 1576-7), II (1577), f. 308^{ro}. [Also in Io. Matth. Toscanus, *Peplus Italiae* (Lutetiae, Federicus Morellus, 1578), p. 111.]

⁹ Vv. 1-4, as reproduced in Gasparrini Leporace, *I manoscritti Capilupiani*, p. xvi.

Mantua te, Laeli, merito se iactat alumno,
 Nam Maro qua sonuit tu quoque voce sonos.
 Et, tua sint quamvis ex omni parte Maronis
 Carmina, non eadem quae canit ille canis.

Significant too may be other evidence that survives of Lelio's earlier broader interest in other forms of Latin hexametric composition within the circle of the Gonzagas of Mantua. We know that he was the possessor of the manuscript of a paraphrase in Latin hexameters of the popular *Tabula Cebetis* (the *Pinax* of pseudo-Cebes Thebanus, 1st century A.D.) dedicated to Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, marchesa di Mantova (1474-1539), by its author Giambattista Pio of Bologna.¹⁰ Moreover, this Latin verse paraphrase by Pio seems to have been composed as part of a poetic competition; an anonymous, rival paraphrase of the *Tabula Cebetis*, also in Latin hexameters, and also dedicated to Isabella d'Este, exists in manuscript in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.¹¹

B. The *Centones ex Virgilio* and the cento: a genre and a mode of writing

Against this background what, then, in particular is intriguing about Lelio Capilupi and his *Centones ex Virgilio*? Firstly, they still represent a bibliographical and an historical puzzle, despite the recent scholarly work of Dennis E. Rhodes.¹² Still unresolved are questions relating to the genesis and to the circumstances of publication of the "xiii centones", as Camillo Capilupi called them. The precise dating and contents of the collection also need to be established, as well as its political and

¹⁰ MS Roma Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Em. 1072: listed by Gasparrini Leporace, *I manoscritti Capilupiani*, p. 121, following Giovanni Andres, *Catalogo de' codici manoscritti della famiglia Capilupi di Mantova* (Mantova, 1794), n. L.; but not listed by C. E. Lutz, 'Ps. Cebes', in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. F. E. Cranz, V. Brown and P. O. Kristeller (Washington D.C., 1960-), VI (1986), pp. 1-14. On G. Battista Pio of Bologna, author of the first published commentary of Lucretius, see (most recently) Charlotte Goddard, 'Language and Religion in Paleario's *De Animorum Immortalitate*', in the Acts of the 16^o Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici 'Grammatica e Lingua nell'Umanesimo', Istituto Internazionale di Studi Piceni, Sassoferrato (Ancona), 21-24 giugno 1995, forthcoming in *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 16 (1996).

¹¹ MS København Kongelige Bibliotek Fabr. 138 VI 4^o, ff. 2^o-10^o ('Paraphrasis Tabulae Cebetis Poëtica. Quâ vitae humanae, prudenter instituendae, ratio continetur.'): listed as 'Anonymus C' in Lutz, 'Ps. Cebes', *Catalogus Translationum*, VI (1986), pp. 1-14 (pp. 6-7).

¹² Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi' (see n. 6).

literary background. These questions we shall attempt to address below. Secondly, the term *cento* itself seems to represent two things at once in the minds of Renaissance literary critics, which it is helpful to bear in mind from the outset. On the one hand, it can serve quite loosely as a metaphor for an inadequate type of literary *imitatio*, dismissable as mere mechanical transcription and conscious plagiarism. On the other hand, it is seen, much more precisely, to be a witty, overtly intertextual genre in its own right — principally in verse form, but also in the looser medium of prose. As such, it is also deemed to furnish a paradoxical model for a successful, authentic *imitatio*, realised by means of, and in spite of, close verbal adherence to a pre-existing text or texts.¹³ In short, more than a pejorative term, the cento can be a positive model, and a positive metaphor, for a transparently allusive mode of writing that may be not just erudite, but also witty, even parodic and subversive.¹⁴

¹³ Compare the conclusion of J. Lafond, 'Le Centon et son usage dans la littérature morale et politique', in J. Lafond and A. Stegmann (eds), *L'Automne de la Renaissance 1580-1630. XXII^e colloque d'études humanistes*, Tours 2-13 juillet 1979, De Pétrarque à Descartes, 41 (Paris, 1981), pp. 117-28 (p. 125), in relation, at least, to the prose cento: "Le centon... veut être une solution au problème de l'imitation et à celui, plus technique, de la citation.... le centon refuse de masquer ses emprunts, il les avoue et se donne pour ce qu'il est: un tissu d'emprunts. Il est l'intertexte transparent au texte." By contrast, for Hélène Cazes, 'Centon et collage: l'écriture cachée', in *Montages / Collages*, Actes du second colloque du Cicada, 5-7 décembre 1991, ed. Bertrand Rougé, Rhétoriques des Arts, 2 (Pau, 1993), pp. 69-84, the verse cento is a particular type of *collage*, "aux jointures invisibles", characterized by "une aspiration à la continuité" (p. 75) — one to be contrasted with other types of *collage*, which are marked by "une irrévérence envers le matériau emprunté" (p. 72), and whose "incohérence" "accuse l'acte d'emprunt" (p. 73). However, Prof. Cazes does concede in the case of the ancient verse cento exemplified by Ausonius that even if "le centon affiche une homogénéité continue dans le tissage des emprunts", nonetheless "il s'agit d'une affectation de continuité, qui n'a de sens que dans son dévoilement" (p. 77). Indeed, Prof. Cazes's position comes closer to that of Lafond in her subsequent observation that, "la lecture du centon est conscience de l'hétérogénéité énonciative et de la jointure car elle est relecture des vers de Virgile; elle apprécie l'écart entre les significations premières et les significations induites par le nouveau contexte.... La disparité naît alors non du heurt ni de l'incompatibilité mais par l'accompagnement de la mémoire de l'acte citationnel..." (p. 77).

¹⁴ On the parodic aspect of the ancient cento, see R. G. Austin's article on the ancient "cento" ("patchwork") in N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1970²), pp. 220-21 — an aspect further explored recently by M. A. Rose, *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-Modern*, Literature, Culture, Theory, 5 (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 16-17, 78-9. On this conception of the cento in the Renaissance, see J. Lafond, 'Le Centon', p. 117, drawing attention to the fact that both Henri Estienne in his *Centonum et parodiurum exempla* (Paris, 1575) and Julius Caesar Scaliger in Liber I, Caput XLIII 'Centones' of his *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon, 1561; facsimile re-print Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1964), p. 47 [= ed. Luc Deitz, 5 vols (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1994-), I (1994), 378] associated the cento with parody. Questionable, therefore, is the

This ambiguity of the cento — as both a term for inadequate copying, and a paradoxical model of authentic creation — would later be suggested by Montaigne (*circa* 1590) in the last revision of his *Essais* (post-1588), a work which was itself a cento-like patchwork of literary quotation and allusion. Even though critical of covert plagiarizers who dishonestly practise unavowed literary collage, Montaigne nonetheless gives due praise to those writers whom he considers to be overt exponents of cento writing. For the verse cento he even singles out the "highly-ingenuous" work of "Capilupus", as he does for the prose cento the "erudite and laboriously wrought" *Politicorum...libri sex* (1589) of Justus Lipsius:¹⁵

De faire ce que j'ay descouvert d'aucuns, se couvrir des armes d'autrui, jusques à ne montrer pas seulement le bout de ses doigts, conduire son dessein, comme il est aysé aux sçavans en une matiere commune, sous les inventions anciennes rapiécées par cy par là; à ceux qui les veulent cacher et faire propres, c'est premierement injustice et lascheté... De ma part, il n'est rien que je veuille moins faire. Je ne dis les autres, sinon pour d'autant plus me dire. Cecy ne touche pas des centons qui se publient pour des centons; et j'en ay veu de très-ingenieux en mon temps, entre autres un, sous le nom de Capilupus, outre les anciens. Ce sont des esprits qui se font voir et par ailleurs et par là, comme Lipsius en ce docte et laborieux tissu de ses *Politiques*.¹⁶

neat identification of "a distinct historical shift... from the citation of authoritative writings towards their parody" in T. Werveynen & G. Witting, 'The Cento: A Form of Intertextuality from Montage to Parody', in H. F. Plett (ed.), *Intertextuality* (Berlin / New York, 1991), pp. 165-78 [German version: T. Werveynen & G. Witting, 'Der Cento. Eine Form der Intertextualität von der Zitatmontage zur Parodie', *Euphorion*, 87 (1993), 1-27], who nonetheless usefully establish that the "Cento is not a generic term but an *écriture*" (p. 172), which can be related to theories of intertextuality, which themselves have a long historical pedigree (on which, see J. Still & M. Worton, 'Introduction', in M. Worton & J. Still (eds), *Intertextuality: theories and practices* (Manchester / New York, 1990), pp. 1-44).

¹⁵ Montaigne, *Essais*, I.xxvi 'De l'institution des enfans' [post-1588 addition], in Id., *Essais*, ed. A. Micha, 3 vols (Paris, 1969), I, 193-225 (pp. 195-6). In commenting upon this passage H. Cazes, 'Centon et collage', pp. 72-3, 76, understands Montaigne to be distinguishing between "les auteurs de compilations et l'auteur de mosaïques citationnelles telles que la sienne". This interpretation informs Prof. Cazes's subsequent conclusion that "le collage, sous la forme d'une juxtaposition de citations, n'est pas chez Montaigne une écriture neutre de la mémoire et de l'autorité mais l'ancrage d'une parole originale et personnelle sur les auteurs de la 'librairie'." However, this ignores the fact that Montaigne is distancing himself in this passage from conscious, dishonest (as well as slavish) plagiarizers, who seek to pass off their literary borrowings as their own. It is with these that Montaigne further contrasts the openly 'citational', derivative writers of centos, in which "la prouesse métrique et citationnelle excuse l'impersonnalité et la transcende" (Cazes, p. 76).

¹⁶ Justus Lipsius, *Politicorum, sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (Lugduni Batavorum, ex off. Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1589). This addition to Montaigne's

Following Montaigne's lead, it is not my purpose here to give a full history of the cento genre proper from its comic origins in Greek as a metrical "patchwork" of several authors, then of Homer and Virgil principally, leading, in the 4th century A.D., to the pagan Virgilian *Cento nuptialis* of Ausonius and its counterpart in the Virgilian cento-writing of the Christian poetess Proba. Nor is it my purpose to trace the Early Modern development of the cento in prose form.¹⁷ However, it is important to note here that four decades before Montaigne, one of his favourite French vernacular poets, Joachim Du Bellay (1523?-1560), had struggled against uncomprehending accusations of plagiarism to formulate a much more positive theory of unavowed, because unconscious, literary borrowing. Du Bellay justified such literary *imitatio* in his own Petrarchist and Classicizing vernacular poetry of 1549-50 as a spontaneous, even unconscious, act of poetic re-creation that gave rise to a distinct poetic identity or voice:¹⁸

Si, par la lecture des bons livres, je me suis imprimé quelques traictz en la fantaisie, qui apres, venant à exposer mes petites conceptions selon les occasions qui m'en sont données, me coulent beaucoup plus facilement en la plume qu'ilz ne me reviennent en la memoire, doit on pour ceste raison les appeller pieces rapportées? Encor' diray-je bien que ceulx qui ont leu les oeuvres de Virgile, d'Ovide, d'Horace, de Petrarque, & beaucoup d'autres, que j'ay leuz quelquefois assez negligemment, trouverront qu'en mes escriptz y a beaucoup plus de naturelle invention que d'artificielle ou superstitieuse imitation... Je ne me suis beaucoup travaillé en mes ecriz de ressembler aultre que moymesmes:...

1588 text of the *Essais* is therefore datable to between the publication of Lipsius's treatise and Montaigne's death on 13 September 1592. On the looser, more eclectic nature of prose "centos" such as Lipsius's, the *Sagesse* of Charron (1601) and the *Diversitez* of Camus (1609-18), see J. Lafond, 'Le Centon' *passim*.

¹⁷ For both of which see the critical works quoted above in nn. 15-16, as well as the broad overview in Delepiere, *Tableau*, I (1874), 1-31; see also G. Salanitro, 'La poesia centonaria greco-latina', in Osidio Geta, *Medea*, ed. G. Salanitro, Bibliotheca Athena, 24 (Roma, 1981), pp. 9-60, and 'Cento', in A. Preminger & T. V. F. Brogan (eds), *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1993), p. 180. On the Christian centos of Falconia Proba and the Empress Eudocia, drawn from the hexameters of Virgil and Homer respectively, see also H. Cazes, 'Centon et collage', pp. 78-83. On the parallel between the cento and Petrarchist writing, and on Lelio Capilupi's particular use of it, see F. Erspamer, 'Centoni e Petrarchismo nel Cinquecento', and F. Calitti, 'Fatica o ingegno. Lelio Capilupi e la pratica del centone', in *Scritture di scritture: testi, generi, modelli nel Rinascimento*, ed. G. Mazzacurati & M. Plaisance, 'Europa delle Corti' Centro studi sulle società di antico regime, Biblioteca del Cinquecento, 36 (Roma, 1987), pp. 463-95, 497-507.

¹⁸ 'Au Lecteur' [Préface de la seconde édition de *L'Olive*], in Joachim Du Bellay, *Œuvres poétiques*, I (*L'Olive. L'Anterotique. XIII Sonnets de l'Honneste Amour*), ed. H. Chamard. Nouvelle édition par Y. Bellenger, Société des Textes Français Modernes (Paris, 1982), pp. 19-20.

We have already seen such paradoxical coupling of individual poetic identity with literary indebtedness astutely applied by Ippolito Capilupi to Lelio Capilupi's verse centos, and the same could be said of Montaigne's own essay writing. Here, however, Du Bellay was promoting an accidental, and so more authentic, brand of imitation in very opposition to the "supersticieuse imitation" of which he had accused Virgilian cento-writers and Ciceronian prose-writers in his polemical *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* of the previous year (1549). Moreover, for Du Bellay, such literary "whitewashing" on their part was symptomatic of a broader problem: the inadequacy and misguidedness of humanist scholars and writers who hoped to piece together again the Classical past, its language, its literature, and its other monuments:¹⁹

Que pensent doncq' faire ces Reblanchisseurs de murailles: qui iour, & nuyt se rompent la Teste à imiter, que dy ie imiter? Mais transcrire vn Virgile, & vn Ciceron? batissant leurs Poèmes des Hemystiches de l'vn, & iurant en leurs Proses aux motz & Sentences de l'autre:.... Pensent ilz donques ie ne dy egaler, mais aprocher seulement de ces Aucteurs, en leurs Langues? recueillant de cet Orateur, & de ce Poète ores vn Nom, ores vn Verbe, ores vn Vers, & ores vne Sentence: comme si en la façon qu'on rebatist vn vieil Edifice, il[z] s'attendoient rendre par ces pierres ramassées [*sic*] à la ruynée Fabrique de ces Langues sa premiere grandeur, & excellence.... & si vous esperez (comme fist Esculape des Membres d'Hippolyte) que par ces fragmentz recueilliz, elles puyssent estre resuscitées, vous vous abusez:....

These sentiments of Du Bellay's echoed in part the doubts which Paolo Giovio had expressed a short while before, in his *Elogia* of 1546, about a celebrated Ciceronian dialogue *de exilio* (1522) which Du Bellay knew.²⁰ If Giovio reported the common suspicion that its author, Petrus Alcyonius (1487-1527?), had been guilty of secret plagiarism (and then of destruction) of a unique manuscript of the *De Gloria* of Cicero, he also lent credence to these suspicions by pointing to the uneven

¹⁹ Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence, et Illustration de la Langue Francoise. Par I[oa]chim. D[u]. B[ellay]. A[n]gevin*. (Paris, Arnoul l'Angelier, 1549), l.xi 'Qu'il est impossible d'egaler les Anciens en leurs Langues', ff. c iiiij^{ro}-[vi]^{ro} (ff. c iiiij^{ro}-[v]^{ro}). A passage discussed, in further relation to Lelio Capilupi, in Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, p. 9; see also Id., 'Joachim Du Bellay, poète français et néo-latin entre l'exil et la patrie', *Op. cit.-revue de littératures française et comparée*, 3 (novembre 1994), 57-63 (pp. 57-8).

²⁰ Petrus Alcyonius, *Medices Legatus de exilio* (Venice, 1522). On this work its relation to Du Bellay, see G. H. Tucker, 'Exile exiled: Petrus Alcyonius (1487-1527?) in a Travelling-chest', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* [University of London], 2 (1993), 83-103.

style of Alcyonius's text. He compared it (as he might Alcyonius's own uneven nature) to a "patchwork", to a *cento*, of ill-assorted threads of unevenly bright colour. In his dubious *elogium* of Alcyonius Giovio was thus adapting the traditional etymological definition of the literary "cento" as a multicoloured patchwork of different rags of cloth stitched together.²¹ He was using it as a pejorative simile for an unsuccessful instance of Ciceronian imitation, where there was insufficient stylistic integration, and where linguistic borrowings stuck out too much:²²

Sed luculento opere [Petri Alcyonii] de toleranda exilii Fortuna, ita eruditionis ac eloquentiae famam sustentabat, ut ex libro de gloria Ciceronis, quem nefaria malignitate aboleuerat, multorum iudicio confectum crederetur. In eo [sc. opere] enim, tanquam uario centone, praeclara excellentis purpurae fila, languentibus caeteris coloribus intertexta notabantur.²³

Yet, despite this pejorative metaphorical adaptation of the term *cento*, Giovio — unlike Du Bellay in the *Deffence*, but like Montaigne later in the *Essais* — must nonetheless have admired the verse cento proper, for Giovio was subsequently to be accorded by Lelio Capilupi the honour of becoming the addressee of one of his most celebrated and witty Virgilian centos, the 'In foeminas,...ad Paulum Iovium'.²⁴

²¹ For example, Erasmus's explanation in the *Adagia* of the Latin proverb *farcire centones*, quoted by Delepiepierre, *Tableau*, I, 7 (n. 2): "Centones dicuntur vestes a variis panniculis, ac diversis interdum coloribus consarcinatae. Ad harum similitudinem *centonem* vocant carminis genus, ex diversis carminibus, et carminum fragmentis, hinc atque illinc accersitis contextum,..." [see Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (Hildesheim, 1961; facsimile re-print of Leiden, 1703 edn), II (*Adagia*) 542D].

²² Paolo Giovio, 'Petri Alcyonii', in Id., *Elogia...Quae in musaeo Ioviniano Comi spectantur* (Venetiis, apud Michaëlem Tramezinum, 1546), ff. 70^{vo}-71^{ro}; Id., *Elogia doctorum virorum... Praeter nova Ioan. Latomi in singulos epigrammata, adiecimus...* (Basileae, [1556]), pp. 265-6. Giovio's criticisms echo the increasing emphasis placed upon the stylistic rather than just the linguistic aspect of Ciceronian imitation — at the level of *elocutio* and not just of *inventio* — in the writings upon imitation of Pietro Bembo (1512-30), Giulio Camillo (1529) and Celio Calcagnini (1532); see L. d'Ascia, *Erasmus e l'Umanesimo romano*, Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa, Studi, 2 (Firenze, 1991), pp. 139-57.

²³ See also Tucker, 'Exile exiled', p. 92, commenting upon "in eo" as referring either to Alcyonius's work ("opere") or to Alcyonius himself. The slander of plagiarism involving the deliberate suppression of a prestigious manuscript source is fairly commonplace in humanist polemic; on a similar accusation of humanist skulduggery cf. Jozef A. R. Kemper, 'Plinio il Giovane nell'umanesimo', in the Acts of the 16^o Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici 'Grammatica e Lingua nell'Umanesimo', forthcoming in *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 16 (1996), on Petrarch's alleged suppression of his "source", the Letters of Pliny the Younger.

²⁴ Lelio Capilupi, *Centones* ([Romae, 1555]; see n. 6), pp. 24-40. The 'In foeminas' was first published circa 1545-50; see above, n. 6.

Indeed, Giovo's literary involvement with Lelio Capilupi provides another, unexpected parallel with Du Bellay. In the spring of 1553 Du Bellay left Paris for Rome (where he was to stay until the summer of 1557, taking Alcyonius's Ciceronian "patchwork" *de exsilio* with him there). Once in the Eternal City he frequented the same humanist and curial circles as Lelio Capilupi, whose volume of collected Virgilian *Centones* was in fact dedicated to him in Rome by its enthusiastic editor, the young Antonio Possevino (1533-1611), on its publication *circa* 1555.²⁵ This suggests at the very least an accommodation on Du Bellay's part, in the Rome of the mid-1550s, with a more positive notion of the cento genre as practised by Lelio Capilupi (anticipating Montaigne's concession in the *Essais* to the cento proper and to its chief exponents in verse and prose). It also seems to suggest a fundamental accommodation with a more technical and less inspirational notion of imitation itself. Like the "docte et laborieux tissu" of the prose cento admired later by Montaigne, such "supersticieuse immitation" no longer seems to have been for Du Bellay such a threat to poetic authenticity as it had been in the *Deffence*.²⁶ Indeed, this apparent change in artistic attitude is borne out by the French poet's own changed willingness to compose Latin verse — his *Poemata* (published: Paris, 1558) — in humanist Rome. It is also confirmed by Possevino's dedicatory letter, which alludes to Du Bellay's intense admiration for Lelio Capilupi as a brilliant modern exponent of the lapidary art of the verse centonist:²⁷

²⁵ See de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 6-7; Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 147, 240; and Id., 'Exile exiled', pp. 101-2.

²⁶ Part of a more general shift in Du Bellay's poetics; see Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, ch. 1. With Montaigne, a similar tension is reflected in the body of the same essay (I.xxvi), whose own assemblage of quotations, allusions and additions is as much a "docte et laborieux tissu" as the prose cento of Lipsius which it cites (post-1588) as exemplary (see above, n. 16), whilst typically protesting (also in post-1588 additions), "Qui suit un autre, il ne suit rien... Ce qu'on sçait droitement, on en dispose, sans regarder au patron, sans tourner les yeux vers son livre" (ed. Micha (see n. 15), I, 199, 200).

²⁷ 'Ioachimo Belaio Antonius Possevinus Mantuanus S. P. D.', in *Laelii Capilupi... Centones* ([Romae, 1555]; see n. 6), ff. [i]^{vo}-[ii]^{vo} (ff. [i]^{vo}, [ii]^{vo}); Possevino's dedicatory letter is also reproduced in Io. Matthaeus Toscanus (ed.), *Carmina*, II (1577), f. 308^{vo}-310^{vo}, and *Capiluporum carmina*, ed. Iulius Capilupus and Iosephus Castalio (Romae, 1590), pp. 155-7. The topos of intense humanist friendship prompted by report and reading (and by the resultant admiration and recognition of a kindred spirit) prior to actual meeting is one that Montaigne will develop famously in 'De l'amitié' (*Essais*, ed. Micha (see n. 15), pp. 231-42 (p. 236; post-1588 addition)), and for which Possevino's comments on Du Bellay's literary friendship for Lelio Capilupi provide a possible intertext.

in quo uiri illius memoriam, & acre iudicium soleo saepe admirari, qui res tam dispersas in unum locum cogat, easque ita colloct, ut media primis, extremis prima respondeant. ac ut perfectus fictor, qui ex diuersissimis lapidibus opus egregium fingit, emblemateque componit, sic ille ex omnibus Virgilii locis, quae ad suam sententiam in primis facerent optima quaeque excerpsit, atque libauit, unumque hoc corpus confecit....Tu enim is es, qui & summa uirtute praeditus, & omnibus literarum studiis ornatus Laelii Capilupi scripta es adeo admiratus, ut cum ne illum quidem uirum de facie cognosceres, mirifice tamen amares & coleres, quod cum illius ingenio, tum tuae humanitati & animo ad studia propenso tribuitur.... Quibus rationibus adductus statui hunc librum ad te mittere, quod scirem apud neminem in loco meliore aut honestiore esse posse.

Accordingly, this shift of perspective upon the cento — viewed increasingly as a legitimate form of, and as a legitimate metaphor for, successful *imitatio* and an authentic mode of writing — can be traced from Du Bellay's changing artistic perspective in his Roman phase, through to Montaigne's pointed approval in the *Essais* discussed above, and even beyond that, to the unashamed avowal of Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* about the cento-like art of his overtly cento-like prose. Moreover, with Burton, the nature of the cento metaphor would significantly change too; no longer a multi-colored patchwork of various rags, the cento becomes a unified piece of cloth woven from a variety of fleeces:²⁸

Omne meum, nihil meum, 'tis all mine, and none mine. As a good housewife out of diuers fleeces weaves one piece of cloth,... I have laboriously collected this cento out of diuers writers,...: I cite and quote mine authors..., *sumpsi, non surripui*... The matter is theirs most part, and yet mine, *apparet unde sumptum sit*..., *aliud tamen quam unde sumptum sit apparet*; which nature doth with the alimant of our bodies incorporate, digest, assimilate, I do...

Yet, if Burton insists upon the explicit naming of his sources, that is precisely what the verse centonist Lelio Capilupi had done *circa* 1555 in the printed marginalia of the Roman edition of his Virgilian centos. If Burton insists too upon the authentic, unfragmented nature of his literary voice despite this overt citation, we have seen that the same paradoxical achievement was claimed for Lelio's *Centones* in Ippolito Capilupi's

²⁸ Robert Burton, 'Democritus to the Reader', *The Anatomy of Melancholy* [ed. pr. 1621], ed. H. Jackson [collating the 5th & 6th edns of 1638 & 1651], Everyman's Library, 886, 3 vols (London / New York, 1932), I, 15-123 (pp. 24-5). Contrast the pejorative metaphorical use of the traditional etymology made by Paolo Giovio, and alluded to above (see nn. 22-3); contrast also Erasmus on *farcire centones* in n. 21.

flattering epitaph for Lelio. Finally, if Burton insists, again paradoxically, upon the organic, digestive, innutritive nature of his cento-like mode of writing, Du Bellay had famously used the same digestive metaphor in his *Deffence* in order to describe the ideal form of *imitatio* in contradistinction from the cento-form.²⁹ Nonetheless, as we have noted, only six years later in Rome, Du Bellay himself was to be the chosen dedicatee of Lelio's intriguing cento volume (much as Giovio became the privileged addressee of the cento 'In foeminas' contained in that volume). Why, how and when this happened, what the volume comprised, and what became of it, are the issues to which we must now turn.

II. THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL PUZZLE C. 1555,
UNDER THREE POPES: JULIUS III (8 FEB. 1550-23 MAR. 1555);
MARCELLUS II (9 APR. 1555-1 MAY 1555); AND PAUL IV
(23 MAY 1555-18 AUG. 1559)

A. The genesis and circumstances of publication of Lelio Capilupi's
xiii centones: the Roman literary and humanist background

The names associated with Lelio's volume certainly constituted a brilliant constellation of literary and scholarly figures. If the primary dedicatee was Joachim Du Bellay, nonetheless, obliquely through him a secondary dedicatee was Joachim's kinsman in Rome the Cardinal Jean Du Bellay; the latter was an accomplished neo-Latin poet, a distinguished literary patron, and a major statesman playing at the time an ambassadorial role with Pope Julius III for Henri II.³⁰ In addition, the twenty-two-year-old compiler and editor of the volume was the future Jesuit and travel-writer Antonio Possevino (1533-1611),³¹ also of Mantua. Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600), the famous Roman antiquarian and scholar,

²⁹ Just as Montaigne would use it (again, in *Essais*, I.xxvi, shortly after mentioning the cento genre) to describe an ideal sort of educational assimilation of knowledge: "C'est tesmoignage de crudité et indigestion que de regorger la viande comme on l'a avallée. L'estomac n'a pas faict son operation, s'il n'a faict changer la façon et la forme à ce qu'on luy avoit donné à cuire." (1580 passage; ed. Micha (see n. 15), I, 198). For Du Bellay's innutritive notion of imitation taking as its model the Romans 'Imitant les meilleurs Auteurs Grecz, se transformant en eux, les devorant, & apres les auoir bien digerez, les conuertissant en sang, & nourriture...', see *La Deffence*, (1549; see n. 19), I.vii ('Comment les Romains ont enrichy leur Langue'), f. b iiiir^o.

³⁰ On the Cardinal Jean Du Bellay, see Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, p. 10.

³¹ On Possevino, see Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago / London, 1981; paperback edn, 1985), pp. 357-9.

readily contributed as well. According to Fulvio's testimony in the postface that he supplied, he was charged with circulating copies of the initial printed version of the volume. Moreover, on his own initiative (in the absence of Possevino) he had had it augmented by the same printer to include a poetic exchange between Lelio and Benedetto Egio of Spoleto, who at the time was responsible for the *editio princeps* (Rome, 1555; with Latin translation) of Apollodorus:³²

ANTONIVS Possevinus, iuuenis cum morum suauitate & elegancia, tum etiam eruditione incredibili, hosce Laelii Capilupi Centones... ab auctore quotidianis propè conuiciis extortos ediderat. Cum autem Laelius... nonnulla mihi illorum exemplaria litteratis arbitratu meo condonanda dedisset: Benedictum Aegium Spoletinum... tanto munere non indignum esse censi. Is uerò ubi id operis perlegit, supraeditum disticum huic argumento accomodatam conscripsit, mihiq[ue] legendum dedit: quod cum ego memoriae mandassem, paulo post Capilupo obuiam factus, recitauit. Qui statim pro disticho,... solidum Centonem in B. Egii laudem uel sesquihorae spatio composuit. Quocirca... uolens libensque pro Antonio Posseuino..., cui, quòd, aberat, id reliquum conficere non licebat, extrema hac pagella hunc quoque Centonem, ut duorum simul amicorum immortalitati hac etiam in parte consuleretur, iisdem typis impressum appingendum curaui. Vale.

No doubt, through these humanist allies Lelio and his work were integrated within an even wider Roman antiquarian circle, which would have included figures such as Fulvio's friend Ottavio Pantagato (d. Rome, 1578), Pirro Ligorio (c. 1510-83), Onofrio Panvinio (1530-68) and their common mentor the Spaniard Antonio Agustín (1517-86), not to mention Ligorio's patron the Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este.³³ Indeed, it is tempting to see (as Du Bellay had done in the *Deffence*) a certain convergence between the piecing together of the fabric of Rome, its texts and its history by such antiquarians, and the cento form with its literary re-assembling, even resurrection, of Virgil. A further implication of Orsini's testimony is a readiness within the circle of Lelio's humanist friends to have Possevino's original compilation augmented and topically adapted through the offices of the same printer. This will set a pattern for all subsequent revisions or additions to Lelio's Roman *Centones* of the mid-1550s.

³² 'L. Fulvius Vrsinus Lectori S.', in *Laelii Capilupi...Centones* ([Romae, 1555]; see n. 6), f. K[iii]^{ro-vo}.

³³ On these figures, see the works quoted above in n. 7, especially Mandowsky and Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, pp. 2-5, and, more generally, Usewijn, 'Achilles Statius'.

No doubt also, the enterprising editor Possevino initially sensed that this work, extracted painstakingly from a very reluctant, and perhaps rather wary Lelio Capilupi, would need its defenders both literary and political. Significantly, Possevino's prefatory address to Joachim Du Bellay, the erstwhile "defender" of the French vernacular, exhorted him to take up the literary defense now in Rome of this most artificial of neo-Latin works, whose satirical and topical aspects made it controversial morally, religiously and politically as well. Possevino's dedication is thus very astute in obliquely enlisting also the support of the Cardinal Du Bellay, a prelate of scholarly and virtuous reputation and a major figure of the opposing French (anti-Imperial) faction in the papal court:³⁴

Cum enim semper otium, & tempus in discendo contriueris, tum summo illi Cardinali es sanguine coniunctus, in quo non facilè iudices utrum more à disciplinis, an à moribus disciplinae illustrentur & ornentur.... Reliquum est ut nos diligas, & quando patrocinium literarum suscepisti, librum hunc ab obtreptatorum maledictis defendes atque tuebere. Vale.

Conversely, we shall see later how the collection would soon be adapted to enlist, for similar reasons, the protection (from the opposing camp) of the pro-Imperial Cardinal of Trent, Cristoforo Madruzzo (d. 1578) — to whose protection, for example, the Italian satirist Ortensio Lando (or Landi; b. *circa* 1512) appealed at about the same time (in June 1554 or 1555), when he was placed on the Venetian Index of May 1554.³⁵ Let us turn first, however, to examine Possevino's original compilation of Lelio's centos as augmented initially by Fulvio Orsini.

³⁴ 'Io. Belaio Ant. Possevinus...S. P. D.' (cont.), in *Laelii Capilupi...Centones* ([Romae, 1555]; see n. 6), f.[ii]^{ro-vº}.

³⁵ See P.F. Grendler, *Critics of the Italian World [1530-1560]: Anton Francesco Doni, Nicolò Franco & Ortensio Lando* (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969), pp. 36-7. See also F. Cairns, 'The *Numeri* of Niccolò d'Arco and the Veronese Circle of Fracastoro', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 15 (1995), 19-29 (pp. 22, 24), on the fact that the Cardinal Madruzzo and Lelio Capilupi were both celebrated in the *Numeri* (Mantua, 1546) of the neo-Latin poet (with pro-Imperial and Mantuan leanings) Niccolò d'Arco (1479? or 1492/3? — 1546/7?). More generally, see the article 'MADRUCÉ (Christophe), dit le Cardinal de Trente' in l'abbé C. B[erton], *Dictionnaire des Cardinaux* (Paris, 1857), cols 1172-5. Apart from the protection of the Cardinal Madruzzo, a further link between Ortensio Lando and Lelio Capilupi is supplied by Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', pp. 212-13, establishing that the "Venetiis 1550" edition of Lelio's *De vita monachorum et Gallus* (see n. 6) was in fact printed by the same Lyonese printer Jean Pullon ('Gioanni Pullon da Trino') who had produced the 1543 edition of Lando's *Paradossi*.

B. The dating and contents of the collection: the political background

The core "xiii centones" originally compiled by Possevino and Orsini, whose immediate success was noted by Camillo Capilupi, fall into three sections (as set out below, in Table 1). The initial group of the first five, numbered centos reflects the contents and chronology of publication of the two previous, Venetian editions of centos by Lelio Capilupi in 1543 and then *c.* 1545-50.³⁶ Although untitled, the first two centos are in fact the 'Gallus' and 'de vita monachorum' of 1543, which had been subsequently re-published in Germany and Basel (in 1545) and in Lyons (in 1550).³⁷ Indeed, their inclusion in Possevino's Roman compilation contradicts Dennis Rhodes' assertion that "no other edition appeared in Italy"; this scholar presumes, erroneously, that the Roman edition of Lelio's *Centones* (*c.* 1555) by Possevino and Orsini "does not include the *De vita monachorum*, and so would not incur the displeasure of the Pope or the authorities who were about to publish the first [*sc.* first universal] *Index* in 1557."³⁸ Similarly, the next three, numbered centos (III-V, which, by contrast, retain their titles) correspond to the pieces published five to ten years before in Lelio's rare Venetian volume *Centonum... libri tres*,³⁹ of which the most notorious and lengthy, 'In foeminas', is now, in the Roman compilation, dedicated to Paolo Giovio.

After these first five, already published centos, the next seven unpublished centos (VI-XII), form a much shorter second group, which is also arranged in rough chronological order. The first two (VI-VII) are fictional addresses, the one to the portrait of Francesco Gonzaga (Gianfrancesco II), Marquis of Mantua (1466-1519),⁴⁰ and the other, by Virgilius Maro himself, to Cosimo I de' Medici (1519-74), the pro-Imperial duke of Florence.⁴¹ These two are then followed by four, more

³⁶ See above, n. 6.

³⁷ See above, n. 6, and Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', pp. 210-15.

³⁸ Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', pp. 211, 277.

³⁹ See above, n. 6.

⁴⁰ Possibly as part of a poetic contest in the Mantuan court. Compare the Latin verse contest celebrating Gerolamo Carpi's 1547 portrait of Anna d'Este, of which a trace is extant in the Latin verses of Didacus Pyrrihus Lusitanus composed during his period in Italy: see G. H. Tucker, 'Didacus Pyrrihus Lusitanus (1517-1599), Poet of Exile', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 41 (1992), 175-98 (pp. 193-5), and G. Bertoni, 'Umanisti Portoghesi a Ferrara (Hermico e Didaco)', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 114 (1939), 46-9 (pp. 48-9).

⁴¹ See Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', p. 216.

topical pieces (VIII-XI). The first (VIII) addresses the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este — although it is unclear whether it is Card. Ippolito I (1479-1520),⁴² or Card. Ippolito II (1509-72). (The latter was sympathetic to the Du Bellays and to the French position in Italy, as well as being the patron of Pirro Ligorio, who was, as we have noted, of the same Roman humanist circle as Lelio Capilupi.) The second and the third make explicit topical reference to the papacy of Julius III, to which they are datable: the one (IX) addressing Homer in the voice of Virgil on the recent excavation of a marble head deemed to be his likeness; the other (X) addressing Julius as Pope in the voice of Rome herself. The chronology culminates in the fourth cento of this group, 'Ad Fortunam' (XI), touching upon the Franco-Imperial war for the Siennese Republic (1552-55), which had been struggling (with French help) to keep its independence from Cosimo de' Medici and Charles V.⁴³ The cento refers specifically to the siege of the Siennese by Charles V, and their defense by Henri II; it also refers to Julius as pope still. This suggests a date of composition just prior to Julius's death on 23 March 1555 — after Sienna had started negotiating surrender in early February, but before it capitulated on 17 April.⁴⁴

Following this, the fifth cento of this second group (XII), is addressed to Paul III (1534-49), and so breaks the chronology. Significantly, the editor draws attention to its erroneous position in a printed marginal note, suggesting that it should have rather been printed in fifth place: "Hic Cento collocandus erat post quartum qui est in hoc libro" (i.e., just before cento V, which celebrates Paul III's elevation of Rainuzio Farnese to the cardinalate in 1545).⁴⁵ This also confirms the impression already given in Fulvio Orsini's postface that the volume was still being compiled even after the process of printing had started.

The third and final section is then made up by the verse and prose material of Orsini's appendix, which sets out in the same printer's type the poetic exchange between Benedetto Egio and Lelio Capilupi, so including Lelio's thirteenth cento (albeit not numbered as such).

⁴² The view of Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', p. 216.

⁴³ See G. R. Elton (ed.), *The Reformation 1520-1559, The New Cambridge Modern History*, 2nd edn., vol. II (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 394-6.

⁴⁴ *Laelii Capilupi... Centones ex Virgilio* ([Romae, 1555]; see n. 6), pp. 61-3. On the precise chronology of the Siennese capitulation, see Gladys Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 117-18.

The whole may be summarised thus:

TABLE I

OUTLINE OF LELIO CAPILUPI'S CORE "XIII CENTONES" (ATTESTED BY CAMILLO CAPILUPI) AS THEY FIRST APPEAR IN THE COMPILATION OF ANTONIO POSSEVINO AND FULVIO ORSINI PUBLISHED IN ROME CIRCA 1555

First group (featuring texts already published elsewhere):

- I. (pp. 1-9) [= 'Gallus' (1st edn was Venice, [Paolo Gherardo], 1543)]
- II. (pp. 10-23) [= 'De vita monachorum' (1st edn was Venice, [Gherardo], 1543)]
- III. (pp. 24-40) 'In foeminas,... ad Paulum Iovium' (1st edn was Venice, [Michele Tramezzino, c. 1545-50])
- IV. (pp. 41-6) 'Ad principes Christianos... Aristeus' (1st edn: *ibid.*)
- V. (pp. 47-9) 'Ad illustrissimum Rainutium Farnesium Card. electum. Damon' [on his election to the cardinalate in 1545] (1st edn: *ibid.*)

Second group (featuring texts hitherto unpublished):

- VI. (pp. 49-50) 'In effigiem Francisci Gonsagae Marchionis Mantuae IIII.' [address to the portrait of a former Marquis of Mantua, Gianfrancesco II (1466-1519); possibly a vestige of a poetic contest in Mantua]
- VII. (pp. 51-3) 'P. Virg. Maro ad illustriss. Cosmum Medicem Florentin. ducem' ["Virgilian" praise of Cosimo I de' Medici, 1519-74, a pro-Imperial ally]
- VIII. (pp. 53-4) 'Ad illustriss. Hippolitum Cardinalem Estensem' [praising either Card. Ippolito I d'Este (1479-1520), or (more topically) the pro-French Card. Ippolito II d'Este (1509-72)?]
- IX. (pp. 55-6) 'In Homeri marmoreum Caput Romae effossum... Virgilii prosopopeia' [referring to Julius III as pope, so datable to between 8 Feb. 1550 and 23 Mar. 1555]
- X. (pp. 57-60) 'Ad Iulium III. Pont. Max.... Romae prosopopeia' [prior to 23 March 1555]
- XI. (pp. 61-3) 'Ad Fortunam' [on the end of Charles V's siege of Siena, and referring to Julius III as pope; so datable to between early Feb. 1555 and 23 Mar. 1555]
- XII. (p. 64) 'Salutatio Calen. Ianuarii ad Paulum .IIII. Pont. Max.' [pope 1534-49; editor's note suggests proper slot as "4th Cento", so datable as prior to Cento V. (1545)]

Third group (appended to the above by Fulvio Orsini, and appearing in same printer's type as these first and second groups compiled by Possevino):

- (f. K[i]^{ro}) 'Benedictus Aegius ad Laelium Capilupum' [eulogistic distich]
 [XIII.] (f. K[i]^{ro-vv}) 'Laelii Capilupi ad Benedictum Aegium Cento.' [replying to Egio's distich]
 (f. K[ii]^{ro-vv}) 'L. Fulvius Vrsinus Lectori S.' [explanatory postface]

The internal evidence from the core "xiii centones" as well as from Possevino's dedicatory preface suggests, therefore, that the collection was compiled by Possevino and presented to the Du Bellays when they were already well established in Roman literary and curial circles, a good time after their arrival in Rome in the early summer of 1553, but also while the Cardinal Du Bellay was still a major figure of influence under Julius III.⁴⁶ Moreover, the latest poem (XI), on the Siennese war between France and the Empire, suggests that the collection was only completed in the last days of Julius III's papacy. Appropriately, this core collection also seems to respect a delicate balance between courting the favour of French figures such as Cardinal Du Bellay (if not also the pro-French Ippolito II d'Este), and Imperial allies such as the Florentine Cosimo I de' Medici. Again, this political balancing act is in harmony with the neutral, mediating politics of the closing period of Julius III's papacy.

For the dating of the collection even more informative, however, is the changing poetic presentation of the original core group of "xiii centones" attested by Camillo Capilupi. As with the initial addition made by Fulvio Orsini, poetic "packaging" is continuously added in the same type-face of the same printer, Valerius Doricus.⁴⁷ From the evidence of the several different copies in Italian and French libraries, it emerges that these additions conform to a tripartite pattern of changing emphasis corresponding to the reigns of the three successive Popes over the period 1555-1556.

Initially (in stage I.A; see Table 2), a poetic compliment is paid to the reigning pope Julius III, through the inclusion of a prefatory cento on his Villa Giulia.⁴⁸ This poetic preface is then excised (stage I.B) — no doubt on Julius's death on 23 March 1555 — leaving an awkward hiatus in the foliation. This gap between the title-page and editor's preface on the one hand, and the body of the "xiii centones" on the other hand, is then filled (stage II) by an alternative prefatory cento celebrating the Cardinal of Trent (the pro-Imperial Cristoforo Madruzzo) and the Council of Trent,⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Laelii Capilupi... Centones ex Virgilio* ([Romae, 1555]; see n. 6), p. 64.

⁴⁶ Despite becoming Dean of the Sacred College on the accession of Paul IV at the end of May 1555, Cardinal Du Bellay was almost immediately left out of political consultations by the new pope and by Henri II (against whose wishes he had become Dean); on which, see Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome*, pp. 124-5, and Gilbert Gadoffre, *Du Bellay et le sacré*, nrf / Les Essais, 200 (Paris, 1978), pp. 73-5.

⁴⁷ See Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', p. 217.

⁴⁸ On the Villa Giulia (and its poetic description by Lelio Capilupi), see D. R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, 43 (Princeton, New Jersey, 1979), pp. 150-74 (especially p. 163).

⁴⁹ See above, n. 35.

and so in harmony with the pro-conciliar Marcellus II, who died almost immediately, on 1st May 1555, within three weeks of his accession to the papal throne. Moreover, under this new presentation for the brief papacy of the saintly Marcellus, the original prefatory cento celebrating Julius's idyllic Villa is now, by contrast, relegated to the end of the collection. Finally (in stage III), under the anti-conciliar and anti-Imperial Paul IV, who was elected on 23 May 1555, not only are these prefatory centos now safely consigned together (in chronological order) to the end of the collection, but also two additional poems are successively printed and appended (in stages III.A & III.B). Significantly, these last two formal appendixes, bearing their own title-pages, increasingly display Lelio Capilupi's adherence to the increasingly beleaguered Imperial camp in the papal court. The first (III.A.3.c), addressed to Paul IV, is undated, but is concerned with the fraught political and military events of September 1555; in it Lelio makes an emotional appeal to the pope for the safe release of the Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, imprisoned after the seizure of French ships in Civitavecchia by the Sforzas who were allies of the Emperor.⁵⁰ The second (III.B.4) of these poetic additions (printed by the Dorici in Rome, 1556) unashamedly celebrates Cardinal Madruzzo's appointment by Philip II of Spain as governor of Milan in 1556.⁵¹ It is perhaps no wonder, then, that on 21 July 1556 Lelio's own brother Ippolito will find himself under papal arrest, accused with other Imperialist sympathizers of conspiracy against Rome and against the person of the Pope.⁵²

TABLE 2

THE DIFFERING ARRANGEMENTS OF THE *CENTONES*,
THROUGH THE THREE PAPACIES (1555-1556)

STAGE I.A prior to death of Julius III (23 Mar. 1555):

1. title-page + dedication by Possevino to Du Bellay
(4 pp. = ff. [i^{ro}-ii^{vo}])

⁵⁰ On this episode, see L. Von Ranke, *The History of the Popes During the Last Four Centuries*, transl. Foster (revised), Bohn's Popular Library, 3 vols (London, 1913), I, 225; and Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome*, p. 123.

⁵¹ On Madruzzo's appointment as governor of Milan, see B[erton], 'MADRUCÉ (Christophe)', in *Dictionnaire des Cardinaux*, col. 1174.

⁵² See Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome*, p. 128; and G. De Caro, 'CAPILUPI, Ippolito', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 18 (1975), 536-42 (p. 538).

2. prefatory cento 'In Villam Iuliam Iulii III. Pont. Max.'
+ epigram 'Hippolyti Capilupi ad Iulium III. Pont. Max.'
(5 pp. + 3 blank pp. = A⁴)
 3. core "xiii centones"
(a) 12 main centos
(64 pp. = B⁴ C⁴ D⁴ E⁴ F⁴ G⁴ H⁴ I⁴)
(b) appended 13th cento 'Laelii Capilupi ad Benedictum Aegium'
(headed by distich 'Benedictus Aegius ad Laelium Capilupum')
+ explanatory statement 'L. Fulvius Vrsinus Lectori S.'
(4 pp. = K²)
- (as in the copies: Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 10679 and Bibl. Nat. Yc. 599)

STAGE I.B *after death of Julius III (23 Mar. 1555)?*:

1. title-page + dedication by Possevino to Du Bellay (as above)
[no prefatory cento]
2. core "xiii centones" (a) & (b) (as above)
(as in the copies: Bibl. Apost. Vat. Ferraioli IV. 4049 (int. 2); and Siena Bibl. Com. degli Intronati XXX.H.16)

STAGE II *under Marcellus II (supporter of the Council of Trent)?
prior to accession of Paul IV (23 May 1555; hostile to reviving the Council of Trent)*:

1. title-page + dedication by Possevino to Du Bellay (as above)
2. new prefatory cento, 'De laudibus illustrissimi Christophori Madrucci', with colophon: 'Valerius Doricus imprimebat. ROMAE. MDLV.'
(on Card. Madruzzo and the Council of Trent (suspended Apr. 1552))
(7 pp. + 1 blank p. (= new A⁴))
3. core "xiii centones" (a) & (b) (as above)
4. old prefatory cento 'In villam Iuliam' etc
(5pp. + 3 blank pp. (= old A⁴) as above, but now placed at the end)
(as in the copy: Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana 79.C.94)

STAGE III.A *under Paul IV (late 1555 or early 1556?)*:

1. title-page + dedication by Possevino to Du Bellay (as above)
[no prefatory cento]
 2. core "xiii centones" (a) & (b) (as above)
 3. three centos appended in chronological order:
 - (a) original preface (of I.A; & at end of II) 'In villam Iuliam' (as above)
 - (b) replacement preface (STAGE II) on Card. Madruzzo (1555) (as above)
 - (c) new appended cento 'Ad Paulum IIII. Pont. Max.', undated, but relating to military & political events of autumn 1555
(t.-p. + 2 pp. + 1 blank p. = ff.[i^{ro}-ii^{vo}])
- (as in the copy: Pavia, Bibl. Univ. Miscell. 8° T.1197(No.1))

STAGE III.B under Paul IV (1556):

1. title-page + dedication by Possevino to Du Bellay (as above)
[no prefatory cento]
2. core "xiii centones" (a) & (b) (as above)
3. three centos appended in chronological order ((a), (b) & (c), as in STAGE III.A above)
4. 'Ad Insubreis. Ad quos pro rege missus est illustrissimus Christophorus Maddruccius', with colophon: 'Impressum Romae apud Valerium, et Aloisium Doricos Anno M.D.LVI.'

(on Card. Madruzzo's dispatch by Philip II of Spain to be governor of Milan in 1556)

(t.-p. + 1 blank p. + 2 pp. = ff. [i^{ro}-ii^{vo}])

(as in the copy: Roma, Bibl. Corsiniana 170.C.23³)

So much for the genesis and form of Lelio's Roman *Centones* printed by the Doricus press in the mid-1550s. This now takes us to the chequered history of their hasty, even muddled, production, and to the reason for their rarity, the story of their equally hasty and muddled censorship.

III. CENSORSHIP UNDER PAUL IV (23 MAY 1555-18 AUG. 1559) AND PIUS IV (25 DEC. 1559-9 DEC. 1565), AND EVENTUAL REHABILITATION

All the copies examined by me *in situ* bear extensive identical manuscript corrections in an identical sixteenth-century hand. This suggests hasty production into print and immediate editorial correction after printing — by either Valerius Doricus, or Possevino or Orsini — of a not impossibly large number of copies. A similar explanation is offered by a late nineteenth-century Vatican librarian's extensive notes on the fly-leaf of a copy of the *Centones*:⁵³

Le parole mss a pag. 3 (non numer.) e 62 credo certo di carattere del Possevino o almeno copiate da un ex. in cui egli le avesse scritte: perché altri che lui non poteva supplire le parole della propria lettera omesse per errore Tipografico....⁵⁴

This librarian's conjecture goes on, however, in more sinister fashion, to attribute "la rarità di questo volumetto" to the fact that

⁵³ MS note on fly-leaf of Lelio Capilupi, *Centones* ([Romae, 1555]) Bibl. Apost. Vat. Ferraioli: IV.4049 (int. 2).

⁵⁴ However, the anonymous Vatican librarian immediately qualifies this assumption: "Per altro una lettera del Pos. da me veduta (scritto è vero nel 1607) ha un carattere molto maggiore, e diverso" (ibid.).

Il Possevino, nato nel 1534 dovè curarlo nella prima gioventù. Si fece gesuita a 26 anni [i.e. 1560], ed egli medesimo ed i suoi superiori confratellii dovettero avvedersi che male si accoppiava il suo nome a quello di un autore messo all'Indice, ed ai *versi*[?] contro i Frati, e studiarsi di ritirarne e distruggere le copie che probabilmente non furono mai molte.⁵⁵

This conspiracy theory of suppression of Lelio's volume at least five years later by the newly-fledged Jesuit Possevino acting in collusion with his new religious superiors falls down on its own admission of the original rarity of the volume. Nonetheless, there is truth in the perception of the controversial nature of Possevino's re-edition of satirical centos such as the 'In foeminas' or the 'de vita monachorum', which were already known to be religiously or morally provocative. Indeed, the latter was several times re-printed as Protestant, anti-Roman, reformist propaganda.⁵⁶ Even in the original edition of the 'de vita' of 1543, the Venetian printer's dedicatory preface points to the unwitting Lelio's reluctance to have his work published at all — apparently, not just out of modesty, or because of worries concerning the literary standing of the cento genre, but also through anticipation of the moral and religious reaction that his amusing satire would provoke:⁵⁷

Quae tibi cum Laelio illo Capilupo, homine quidem doctissimo, summa familiaritatis atque amicitiae necessitudo intercedit... hanc mihi licentiam concessisse visa est, ut illius viri de vita monachorum ex Virgilio centonem, eo ignaro, et fortasse etiam inuito, in publicum proferre, tibi que eius amicissimo dicare nequaquam veritus fuero. Hoc enim modo facile fieri posse existimo, ut, si ille, veluti de se ipso modeste sentiens, meum hoc factum animo haud aequo patiatur, cum primum tibi opus dicatum esse intelliget, non solum non moleste ferat, verum etiam maximopere laetetur.... in hisce publicandis carminibus mea ratio, meumque consilium fuit, ut hoc argumento iuuentur, atque etiam oblectentur studiosi. quod si ita est, nullus, equidem arbitror, nisi improbus improbabit.... Neque hoc scribendi genus in postremo laudis gradu locatum esse quispiam existimabit.... etenim quis illum non laudet artificem, qui è multiplicibus minutisque fragmentis vndique collectis, & ex arte dispositis, varium & illustre opus efficiat?

⁵⁵ MS note (cont.) on fly-leaf of the same copy of Lelio Capilupi, *Centones*.

⁵⁶ See the editions listed above, in n. 6; and Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', pp. 211-14.

⁵⁷ 'Magnifico ac generoso Ioanni Michelio. Patritio Veneto. Paulus Cerardus. S.P.D.' [printer's dedicatory letter], in *Laelii Capilupi Mantuani cento ex Virgilio de vita monachorum et Gallus* (Venetiis, [Paulus Gerardus], 1543). See above, n. 6; and Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', pp. 210-11, identifying the printer as Paolo Gherardo, from the "Paulus Cerardus" of the dedicatory letter.

Be that as it may, and irrespective of Possevino's editorial inclusion of the 'de vita monachorum' in pride of place in his 1555 Roman collection of Lelio's centos, a crisis point must have come a little later in 1556-7 with the inclusion of Lelio's irreverent piece (bearing the full title, 'Laelii Capilupi cento Vergilianus, de vita Monachorum, quos vulgo Fratres appellant') in Mathias Flacius Illyricus's propagandistic, anti-Roman compilation, *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum, de corrupto Ecclesiae statu, poemata, ante nostram aetatem conscripta...* (Basileae, Ludovicus Lucius, Mar. 1557; dedicatory epistle signed 'Madeb. I. Maii, anno Domini 1556').⁵⁸

It is probably this that caused the listing of Lelio's cento in Paul IV's initial universal Roman *Index* of September 1557 (fully elaborated in 1558-9) (see *Table 3.a-b*). However, an important contributory factor must also have been Lelio and Ippolito Capilupi's increasingly untenable position as Imperial sympathizers in Rome during the worsening of relations between Paul IV and the Empire in 1556-7.

Unfortunately, the actual wording of the prohibition from 1557 onwards was imprecise — merely "Cento ex Virgilio", in the singular, without a specific title, possibly reflecting the presentation of the 'de vita' simply as 'Cento II.', without its proper title, in Possevino's Roman 1555 compendium. This was only clarified much later by the Spanish Inquisition's *Index* of 1583 (*Table 3.f*), which added "de vita monachorum". For many years, therefore, there seems to have been confusion as to whether this was a specific prohibition of just one cento, or a total ban upon each and every "Cento ex Virgilio" of Lelio Capilupi. This confusion was only increased with Ippolito's successful attempt in 1562 (*Table 3.c*) to have the prohibition of his brother's work lifted subject to the proviso of approved expurgation. Again, the resultant entry in Pius IV's more moderate Tridentine *Index* of 1564 (*Table 3.d*) makes it unclear as to which Virgilian cento of Lelio's this applies to, so implicating all of them potentially. This increased confusion was only further compounded by the Liège *Index*'s subsequent omission of the proviso of expurgation in 1569 (*Table 3.e*), an omission repeated in the otherwise precise entry of the Spanish *Index* of 1583.

⁵⁸ In pp. 355-70 of this compilation; cf. above, n. 6.

TABLE 3

THE LISTING OF LELIO CAPILUPI'S 'CENTO EX VIRGILIO'
IN VARIOUS INDEXES OF FORBIDDEN BOOKS⁵⁹

- (a) First Roman Index (elaborated September-November, printed late December, 1557), *initial total prohibition, but cento not specifically named*:

"Lelii Capilupi, Cento ex Virgil."

(*Index auctorum, et librorum, qui tanquam haeretici, aut suspecti, aut perniciosi ab officio S. Ro. Inquisitionis reprobantur, et in vniversa Christiana republica interdicuntur.* (Romae, apud Antonium Bladum 1557), p. 36) (= *Index*, ed. Bujanda, VIII (1990), pp. 717-51 (p. 735))

- (b) Expanded first Roman Index (posted 30th December, 1558(?); published January, 1559),⁶⁰ *repeated initial total prohibition, also unspecific*:

"Laelii Capilupi cento ex Vergilio"

(*Index auctorum, et librorum...* (Romae, apud Antonium Bladum, ian. 1559), f. 20^{vo}; also, Romae, apud Valerium Doricum, 1559) (= *Index*, ed. Bujanda, VIII (1990), pp. 752, 772)

- (c) Record of intervention (early 1562?) by Ippolito Capilupi (papal nunzio in Venice from May 1561) through the Patriarch of Venice for revision of the ban upon Lelio's "Cento" by the Commission of the Index of the resumed Council of Trent (18 Jan. 1562-4 Dec. 1563):

"LELLI [sic] CAPILUPI *Cento*, etc.- Dno. Patriarchae Venetiarum cum theologis quos ipse elegit"

[entry in 'Nomina librorum qui in concilio Tridentino a Patribus deputatis sunt expurgati et eorum quibus ut examinarentur ab eisdem Patribus dati sunt'] (MS Archives of the Holy Office, ed. J. I. Tellechea (1987)) (= *Index*, ed. Bujanda, VIII (1990), pp. 81, 106-8 (p. 107))⁶¹

- (d) Reformed Roman Tridentine Index (1564), *qualified prohibition (with proviso of expurgation), but still without specific title*:

"Laelii Capilupi Cento ex Virgilio non nisi expurgatus legatur"

⁵⁹ On the inclusion of Lelio Capilupi in the Roman Indexes of, 1557, 1559(1558) and 1564, see also Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi', pp. 209-10. Quotation is from *Index des livres interdits*, ed. J. M. Bujanda, 10 vols (Sherbrooke / Geneva, 1984-): I (1985) [= *Index de l'Université de Paris 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556*]; II (1986) [= *de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558*]; III (1987) [= *de Venise 1549, Venise et Milan 1554*]; IV (forthcoming) [= *de l'Inquisition portugaise 1547, 1551, 1559, 1561, 1564, 1581, 1597*]; V (1984) [= *de l'Inquisition espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559*]; VI (1993) [= *de l'Inquisition espagnole 1583, 1584*]; VII (1988) [= *d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571 (de Liège 1568, 1569)*]; VIII (1990) [= *de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564*]; IX (forthcoming) [= *de Rome 1596. Avec étude des Index de Parme 1580, de Munich 1582, et de Rome 1590, 1593*]; X (forthcoming) [= *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite au XVI^e siècle*].

- (*Index librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentino Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctiss. D.N. Pii IIII, Pont. Max. comprobatus.* (Romae, apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F., 1564), p. 54)
 (= *Index*, ed. Bujanda, VIII (1990), pp. 802-72 (p. 854; item 648))
- (e) Indexes of Liège (1569) and Antwerp (1569), *without qualification (proviso of expurgation omitted), and still without specific title:*
- “Laelii Capilupi Cento ex Virgilio” (Liège, 1569)
 “Lelii Capilupi Cento ex Virgil.” (Antwerp, 1569)
- (= *Index*, ed. Bujanda, VII (1988), pp. 582, 648)
- (f) Spanish Index (1583), *without qualification (proviso of expurgation omitted), but finally making explicit the identity of the banned cento:*
- “Laelii Capilupi Cento ex Virgilio De vita monachorum”
- (= *Index*, ed. Bujanda, VI (1993), p. 428)

This muddle is reflected in Giovanni Matteo Toscano's above mentioned Parisian anthology of Italian *Carmina* of 1576-7, where, in the section devoted to Lelio Capilupi, the 'de vita' is completely absent, as if under an unqualified and specific prohibition. Yet this is despite the editor's pious Counter-Reformation protestations (in an admonitory preface) of selective expurgation of Lelio's problematic text in conformity with moral propriety and religious orthodoxy. In other words, Giovanni Matteo Toscano's compliant censorship is specific and total, general and selective, all at the same time:⁶²

Quod in ceteris summorum auctorum poematis sedulò operam dedimus, ne quid ederemus quod vel obscaenitatem redoleret, vel Christianae Catholicae

⁶⁰ This generally accepted dating is contradicted, however, by f. 2^{vo} of the “Ian. 1559” Bladus edn (Bujanda, VIII, p. 752):

Die xxx. Decembris MD.LIX. praefatae literae affixae & publicatae fuerunt ad valvas Basilicae principis Apostolorum de Vrbe Palatii sanctissimae Inquisitionis & in acie campi Flore, dimissis inibi illorum copiis affixis per nos Triphonem Vitorellum & Honofrium Montargul S. D. N. Papae Cursorum.

This “posting” and “publishing” in Rome of the augmented Pauline Index by the Holy Inquisition on “30 December 1559” (not 1558), suggests that the printed date of publication might be, rather, January 1560 (“1559” old style), instead of January 1559. If so, the further implication would be that the Inquisition persisted with publishing the recently deceased Paul IV's index only five days into the new papacy of Pius IV (from 25 December 1559), no doubt fearing (rightly) that he would prove more moderate and restrict their activity.

⁶¹ ‘Document provenant des Archives du Saint-Office’, quoted by Bujanda VIII, 107 from J. I. Tellechea, ‘La Aprobación del Catecismo de Carranza en Trento con noticias sobre la Comisión del Index (1563)’, in *Scriptorium Victorienae*, 34 (1987), 397-402.

⁶² ‘Io. Matth. Toscanus, Lectori S.’, prefacing the Latin poems of Lelio Capilupi in Io. Matth. Toscanus (ed.), *Carmina*, II (1577), f. 310^{vo}.

religioni minime esset consentaneum, id in Laeliio Capilupo praestandum nobis etiam fuit. Itaque quae pias, honestasque aures laedere poterant sustulimus omnia: ea relinquimus quae neque inconcessos amores, neque impietatem resipiunt....

Nor is the situation any clearer in the *Capiluporum carmina* (Rome, 1590), in which Lelio's nephew Giulio contributed his services in the required expurgation, and where selected chunks of the 'de vita monachorum' were re-introduced to be re-worked in the poem 'De aetate aurea et ferrea' (pp. 231-46).⁶³ This conforms to the Tridentine proviso of expurgation of 1564, as clarified by the 1583 Spanish *Index*'s precise designation of the 'de vita'. Yet, once again, the editor's preface is strangely inconsistent, suggesting that Lelio's centos have been generally and absolutely banned for almost "twenty-five years" — that is, since the Tridentine *Index* of 1564.⁶⁴

LAELII Capilupi viri doctissimi Centones quos diu desiderari necesse fuit, ad te tandem revertuntur. Vtinam ille aut ad Virgilii versus non ita se adstrixisset, aut non tam soluto seculo florisset. Multa scripsit ut illa tempora ferebant licenter, poetarum etiam more. Centonum quoque coactus legibus nonnulla Virgiliana vsurpavit verba, quibus nobis interdictum est. Haec quamquam non essent Laelii ipsius sed temporis, & facultatis vitia, tamen nostri saeculi gravitas minime ferenda esse censuit. Quare opus illud caeteroquin ingeniosissimum... Iulii Capilupi eius nepotis... opera & studio quàm maximè fieri potuit expurgatum est. Si qua in eo verba sunt reliqua à nostrae religionis more quae aliena esse videantur vt fata, fortuna, Dii, Divi, Iuppiter, Mars, Venus, & alia huiusmodi meminisse nos oportet Virgilii esse verba, deinde posse per allegoriam aliter accipi... Propter quam difficultatem factum est vt annorum vigintiquinque ferè spatio hi Centones interdicti extiterint. Hoc volebam[,] Lector optime[,] nescius ne esses. Vale.

However, the further purpose of these pious strictures and admonitions would seem to have been to enhance Lelio Capilupi's notoriety as a morally dangerous, and artistically outmoded poet — one requiring rehabilitation, but also offering an exciting and erudite challenge to his readers in the changed moral and literary climate of the Counter-Reformation.

⁶³ The two poems are set out comparatively in Delepierre, 'Les Capilupi', *Tableau de la littérature du centon*, I, 203-13.

⁶⁴ 'Lectori' [prefacing 'Laelii Capilupi Centones ex Virgilio'] in *Capiluporum carmina*, ed. Iulius Capilupus and Iosephus Castalio (Romae, 1590), pp. 153-250 (p. 154).

Now, if one reads on from Camillo Capilupi's opening attempt in his anecdote (quoted by me initially) to rehabilitate Lelio's memory as an Italian vernacular poet, rather than just as a notorious neo-Latin centonist, one discovers similarly an attempt by Camillo at Lelio's moral rehabilitation. Camillo's counter-reformation, quasi-hagiographic account of the notorious Lelio concludes by stressing the secret nature of a deed of goodness once done by him, in contrast with religious hypocrites' show of public virtue, belied by their private vice:⁶⁵

Argomento non tanto della sua bontà quanto della prudenza nel conservar l'honore dell' amico, documento assai raro a ciascuno qual debba esser l'amico vero, et come conviene all' huomo da bene operar sempre integramente così quando l'attione e pubblica come quando ha da esser secreta essendo la firma della virtù l'operar bene compiacersi nel fatto, et non nella vanità della gloria... come facevano questi che mentre scrivevano i libri de contemnenda gloria vi apponevano il nome loro. cose ordinarie degli Hippocriti et huomini finti che tutte le operationi loro publiche parono santissime le occulte poi diaboliche conforme alle perversità de gli animi loro. Ma come disse Christo nostro salvatore, che[?] *sperant mercedem sui...*

It would seem, then, from these various posthumous testimonies, that the moral rehabilitation of the man and the artistic rehabilitation of the poet went inevitably hand in hand. Indeed, we have seen that for Montaigne reading Lelio's centos in the editions of 1555, 1577 or 1590, as for Burton later, the condition for artistic and intellectual acceptance of the cento genre was its very lack of textual hypocrisy. The cento text, like the truly virtuous man, does not pretend to be anything other than what it is. This means also an acceptance, even a vindication, of the fragmentation of textual discourse, of knowledge, of identity, that had been so dreaded by Du Bellay in the enthusiastic pages of his *Deffence* of 1549.⁶⁶ Significantly, that initial rejection by Du Bellay of the cento as a genre and as a mode of writing and thinking had been prior to his journey to Rome, that archetypal site of all fragmentations. It was prior

⁶⁵ Camillo Capilupi, 'Atto di gran bontà et di avedimento di Lelio Capilupi', in MS Roma Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Em. 1009 [Capilupi, Camillo, 'Raccolta di aneddoti'], f. 13^{ro-vo}.

⁶⁶ Such fragmentation being both reflected in and redeemed by the cento form Cf. Lafond, 'Le Centon', p. 122: "Le choix du centon, à la fin du XVI^e siècle, répond à un problème plus simple: à l'âge du savoir en miettes, ... succède le temps de la reconstruction politique et idéologique... Il faut dès lors éviter la 'confusion'... d'un statut fragmentaire et discontinu du texte, ... Il faut donc trouver une forme qui concilie la force, la pointe du discours discontinu et la fluidité du discours continu..."

also to Du Bellay's involvement in the Eternal City with the lapidary texts, with the literary mosaics, of Mantua's "second Virgil", who was, of course, no such thing.⁶⁷

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⁶⁷ A preliminary, Italian version of this paper was read at the 16° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici 'Grammatica e Lingua nell'Umanesimo', held in Sassoferrato (Ancona), 21-24 June 1995. I thank the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Piceni for their invitation and hospitality.

James BINNS

ABRAHAM HARTWELL, HERALD OF
THE NEW QUEEN'S REIGN.
THE REGINA LITERATA (LONDON, 1565)

The resurgence of Latin writing from the 1540s onwards that characterises English literary culture in the sixteenth century witnessed a great flowering of Latin poetry. Uncounted thousands of short poems of all types survive and were printed during the period. There are epigrams, pastoral poems, poems based on versifications of the bible, occasional poems of all kinds celebrating not only the birth, marriage, entertainment and death of royalty, the aristocracy and other significant personages but also notable events in public life such as conspiracies against the life of Queen Elizabeth I or the defeat of the Spanish Armada. There are too countless liminary and dedicatory verses.¹ When it comes to longer poems, however, the contribution of the English Latin writers is not so notable, and comparatively few such poems are written at this time. Among the more significant of these is Sir Thomas Chaloner's *De republica Anglorum instauranda*, possibly the longest Anglo-Latin poem of the period, written in the early 1560s and published posthumously in 1579. The closing years of the sixteenth century are marked by the printing of a certain number of mythological *epyllia*, including John Clapham's *Narcissus* and John Dickenson's *Deorum consessus* of 1591, Thomas Campion's *Umbra* of 1595² and the posthumously printed *Hyppolitus Ovidianae Phaedrae respondens* (Oxford, 1586) of John

¹ See J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. The Latin Writings of the Age*, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 24 (Leeds, 1990), pp. 11-108. Shorter Latin poems on this period are discussed in greater detail by L.V. Ryan in 'The Shorter Latin Poem in Tudor England', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 26 (1977), 101-31. For a recent example of such shorter poetry, which also has a university connection, see Dana F. Sutton, 'John Sanford, *Apollinis et Musarum Εὐκτικὰ Εἰδόλλια* (1592)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 45 (1995), 207-49.

² This poem was partially published in Campion's *Poemata* (London, 1595), and in complete form in his *Elegiarum libri duo* (London, 1619). Clapham's *Narcissus* has now been edited and translated by C. Martindale and C. Burrow, 'Clapham's *Narcissus*: A Pre-Text for Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*? (Text, Translation, and Commentary)', *English Literary Renaissance*, 22 (1992), 147-76.

Shepery. Other similar lengthy works, such as William Alabaster's *Elisaeis*, or the occasional versified biography, such as John Shepery's *Vita Joannis Claymondi*, circulated in manuscript but were not printed.³ There are the narrative historical poems of Christopher Ocland, *Anglorum proelia* (London, 1580 and later editions). One can however scarcely speak of a tradition of, say, full-scale Latin epic in England at this time, and such longer compositions in verse as are extant from the hand of sixteenth-century Englishmen seem always to call for explanation, rather than being a matter of course.

Political propaganda, boosting and extolling the virtues of the sovereign or the nation is certainly an important motivating force for much Tudor Anglo-Latin poetry. Queen Elizabeth and her prominent advisors were aware of the need to mobilise the nation's academics in the service of the state. The Chancellors or formal heads of both English universities were powerful political figures throughout Elizabeth's reign. William Cecil Lord Burghley, one of Queen Elizabeth's chief counsellors, was Chancellor of Cambridge University from 1559 to 1598, when he was succeeded by the Earl of Essex. At Oxford Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester served from 1564 to 1588, to be followed by Sir Christopher Hatton in 1588 and Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst in 1592. All these men were popular dedicatees for Latin writing, and seem to have consciously fostered such literary activities. The close links between the universities and political power were strengthened in the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when she paid a formal and ceremonious visit to both seats of learning, to Cambridge in 1564 and Oxford in 1566. To the best of my knowledge no historian has ever studied these visits, though some attention has been paid to them by historians of academic drama because of the plays performed during the visits for the Queen and court.⁴ Yet the

³ *The Elisaeis of William Alabaster* is edited and translated by Michael O'Connell, Special Supplement, Texts and Studies to *Studies in Philology*, 76 (1979). Shepery's biography was not printed, but exists in a number of manuscripts in Oxford — see Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 552.

⁴ See F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 89-108; J. W. Binns, 'Elizabeth I and the Universities', in *New Perspectives on Renaissance Thought*, ed. John Henry and Sarah Hutton (London, 1990), pp. 244-52. The volume of verses written at Cecil's request by members of Cambridge University for the Queen's visit of 1564 has recently been acquired by Cambridge University library, and is studied by E. Leedham-Green, *Verses presented to Queen Elizabeth by the University of Cambridge, August 1564* (Cambridge, s.a. [1993]). A comparable Oxford collection is in the British Library, MS. Royal 12. xlvii, not printed but available in volume 1 of John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1788).

visit to Cambridge in 1564 resulted in a notable poem, *Regina literata*, by Abraham Hartwell, which was a manifesto for the political, literary and intellectual ideals of the new age. It is my purpose in this essay to assess the significance of this hitherto utterly unstudied poem.

Abraham Hartwell states that his poem was written initially for Sir Walter Haddon.⁵ Now Haddon is a very significant and influential figure in the worlds of Elizabethan politics and of learning.⁶ He was created Master of Requests, an important legal office, at the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession in 1558. He had been appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge in March 1550/51, and was at the same time Master of a college there, Trinity Hall. Haddon engaged in religious controversy on behalf of the Queen with the Portuguese scholar Osorius da Fonseca, Bishop of Silves.⁷ He was an important contributor to the mid-century Cambridge university commemorative anthologies on the death of the brothers Charles and Henry Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk, and on the death and re-habilitation of Martin Bucer.⁸ His *Lucubrationes*, consisting of poems, letters and speeches, were printed in 1567 at London, and his *Poemata* were twice reprinted in London in 1576 and 1592. He wrote liminary verses to the *Toxophilus* (London, 1545) of Roger Ascham, who had tutored Queen Elizabeth as a young princess in Latin and Greek, and to works by Thomas Wilson, the Secretary of State and scholar, who like Haddon had been educated at King's College Cambridge. Earlier than this even, in his *Cantabrigienses: sive exhortatio ad litteras* (London, 1552), he had endeavoured to revive the intellectual life of Cambridge, and he became an important witness to the changes effected in the university by the impact of the new learning. As a royal visitor to the university, he delivered a Latin oration deploring the decline of learning at the university. In this he stresses Queen Elizabeth's intention that the nation should be learned. He states that the Queen took a great interest in the affairs of the university and the abilities of

⁵ 'Ad Clariss. virum D. Gualterum Haddonum...tunc temporis conscripta.' Abraham Hartwell, *Regina literata*, p. 1. (My references to the poem are taken from the edition printed in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1788), vol. I. Nichols's work is not separately paginated, so all references are to the individual pagination of the Hartwell section.

⁶ See Charles J. Lees, ed., *The Poetry of Walter Haddon*, Studies in English Literature, 46 (The Hague, 1967).

⁷ See Lawrence V. Ryan, 'The Haddon-Osorio Controversy (1563-1583)', *Church History*, 22 (1953), 142-54.

⁸ See Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 40, 43, 459 n. 62.

individuals within it, and had discussed with him what its members could do for the good of the country. Haddon stresses that Sir William Cecil, the university's Chancellor, and Sir Anthony Cooke (the famous humanist who had tutored the young Edward VI and brought up five learned daughters),⁹ were also interested in promoting the healthy learning of the university, and he states his intention to see that this is done. He will, as one of the university's own members, do this in a gentle and equable way.¹⁰ That the policy of revitalising the universities was a deliberate one is confirmed by the scholar Thomas Cooper, Fellow of Magdalen College and later Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University. Cooper had compiled the most important Latin/English dictionary of the Elizabethan period, the *Thesaurus linguae romanae et britannicae*, first printed at London in 1565 and reprinted in 1573, 1578, 1584 and 1587. In an important preface to this work, Cooper states that the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil, together with the Queen, had entered upon a plan for restoring the arts to their former dignity, and for encouraging the young men of the university in learning, and that her visit to Cambridge in 1564 was an expression of this interest.¹¹

Though other accounts of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge exist, they were not published till over two hundred years later.¹² Abraham Hartwell's *Regina literata* of 1565 is however a virtually contemporary commemoration of the occasion by a Cambridge academic and man of letters. It is a poetical record of the exercise and demonstration of the panoply of state power. Like Haddon, Abraham Hartwell had been educated at Eton and King's, and he was likewise in due course appointed a Fellow of King's, in 1562. He wrote liminary verses to Haddon's *Lucubrations* of 1567 and to the English printing of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and, along with Haddon and the leading Cambridge *literati*

⁹ See Mary E. Lamb, 'The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes towards Learned Women in the Renaissance', in *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay (Kent, Ohio, 1985).

¹⁰ 'Gualteri Haddon Oratio', in *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Nichols, pp. 45-47.

¹¹ Hanc opinionem mentibus hominum infixit anno superiore Cantabrigiensis protectio: cum Regia maiestas in ipsis quasi Musarum delubris, non solum praesentia sua declaravit honestissimarum artium sibi et curae fuisse et delectationi, sed etiam splendida et illustri oratione studiosorum animos ad singularem spem amplissimorum virtutis et industriae praemiorum concitabat. (Cooper, *Thesaurus*, (London, 1578) f. 2v.)

¹² In the volumes assembled by John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1788) 2 vols, together with an often overlooked third volume printed in 1805 containing much material relevant to the Cambridge 1564 visit.

of the day, he also wrote verses on the death of Martin Bucer. Hartwell's translation of one of Haddon's Latin refutations of Osorius da Fonseca was published in London in 1565 as *A Sight of the Portugall Pearle*. Hartwell also translated other works from Latin and French into English.¹³ Hartwell's poem, which runs to some 1400 lines of elegiac couplets, is addressed to his patron Haddon, and he claims the work as a history worthy of the patronage of such a one as Haddon who was himself a poet.¹⁴ Hartwell stresses that he was himself present at many of these events, which he intends to narrate in order.¹⁵ But straightaway an elevated note is introduced, when Clio the muse of history calls an assembly of the muses to take counsel what to do, and Urania the heavenly muse advises that the event should be celebrated in verse. She expresses a hope that the neighbouring towns such as Saffron Walden, Huntingdon, Royston, Newmarket and Ely will not be envious of the honour paid to Cambridge. The muses all agree with Urania, and as a result the whole university celebrates the arrival of Queen Elizabeth in verses, which, as we know from other sources too, were pinned to the doors and walls of the colleges, a fact which is mentioned repeatedly in the poem under consideration.¹⁶

The account of Queen Elizabeth's visit, which began on Saturday 5 August 1564, emphasises its ceremonial splendour — the roads and streets are strewn with flowers and garlands. The scholars await the Queen in a crowd, and a great shout goes up as she appears. The Queen is accompanied by leading members of the aristocracy and the great men of the state who are all briefly described, including the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Sussex, Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln and Lord High Admiral, Sir William Cecil,

¹³ Accounts of Hartwell are given in Sidney Lee, ed., *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1902) s.v. (hereafter *DNB*), and C. H. and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae cantabrigienses: vol. I, 1500-1585; vol. II, 1586-1609; vol. III, 1609-1611* (Cambridge, 1858-1913), (II. p. 383).

¹⁴ Si tenues Musas, Musarum magnus alumnus
Idemque eloquii Pieridumque decus,
Suscipis, exactosque animo reparare labores
Non piget, haec curis insere parva tuis.
Forsitan historia est (quanquam levis ipse Poeta)
Non patrocinio defugienda tuo. (Hartwell, *Regina literata*, p. 1).

¹⁵ Historiam prima repetens ab origine, pandam
Quid doctos inter Regia virgo lares,
Quid Cantabrigiae pulcherrima fecerit. (*Regina literata*, p. 1).

¹⁶ See Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, p. 35.

Chancellor of the University, praised for his stewardship of the treasury, and the Earls of Oxford and Rutland. Hartwell states that he witnessed all these events and personalities.¹⁷ There follows a detailed description of King's College Cambridge (where the Queen was to stay during her six-day visit), its architecture, its stained glass, its ambulatory, its floor-tiles. Hartwell describes the verses that decorated the college doors. At this point the Queen was apparently welcomed by a pageant of members of the university dressed as the muses greeting the Queen, each one speaking a distich to a musical accompaniment and lauding various of her qualities. The ninth muse to greet the queen, Calliope, was apparently William Masters, the university orator, in disguise. He kneels to the Queen and greets her in a formal encomium. Since Masters is praised by Hartwell as a man favoured by the Muses,¹⁸ and since the other eight muses had delivered their lines in elegiac verses, it is possible that the words of Masters given here are his own rendering of what he said.

At any rate the next section encapsulates the propagandist message of the poem. The power and nobility of the Queen are praised together with her knowledge of French, Latin and Greek and her upholding of the Protestant faith:

Te quisque, atque in te defixo lumine, quaerit
 Nescio quae, sed non qualia vulgus habet.
 Dulcesque expectat voces, et verba loquentis,
 Francone an Latio mavelis ore loqui.
 Seu tibi Romanae facundia mellea linguae,
 Sive nova Graius spargitur arte lepos.
 Seu quid agas: tibi dives enim faecundaque soli,
 Docta peregrinos lingua referre modos.
 Nugantes etiam cultus, deliria Romae,
 Ludicraque haud nostris iniicienda sacris,
 Dispulit ipsa dei (mentes miserata vagantes)
 Dextra, sed auspicio dispulit illa tuo.

(*Regina literata*, p. 6)

Masters fancifully alludes to the tradition that Bede and Alcuin had taught at Cambridge, and that Cambridge had handed on its learning to the university of Paris. The passage of time brought a historical, not a

¹⁷ Haec et plura istis, omni gratissima saeclo
 Vidimus, hoc splensens ordine venit honos. (*Regina literata*, p. 4).

¹⁸ virum magis omnibus unum
 Quem Musae veneres edocuerunt suas. (*Regina literata*, p. 5).

mythical patron to the university, Henry VI, and Masters closes his words of welcome with a description of the buildings of Henry's endowment, King's College.¹⁹ The Queen acknowledged Master's remarks by saying that her Latin was not adequate enough to do them justice, and by extending to him her hand.²⁰ She then enters the west door of King's College chapel, as the scholars stand in order and watch. She dons a ceremonial cope, and says her prayers.²¹ Significantly the visit starts with an act of religious worship. The Queen is then escorted under a canopy by four senior members of the university, and she admires the walls and marble of the chapel, as the choir sings and musicians play. She is then escorted to her lodging at the Provost's house. A tapestry depicting a labour of Hercules, a popular topic of humanist rather than of medieval art, is described. Sounds of trumpets announce her presence and there the Queen, her courtiers and ladies-in-waiting enjoy a banquet before going to bed.²² On the next day, Sunday, the Queen sets forth escorted by Doctors and knights, and preceded by three university bedells carrying jewelled sceptres in their hands. Lord Hunsden carries the Sword of State, and the Queen is accompanied by her maids of honour. The youth of the town and the peasantry watch as the Queen disappears from view into King's College chapel. Inside the Queen says her prayers, screened from view. After two readings, the Minister leads the congregation in public prayer. Dr Andrew Perne²³ then preaches a Latin sermon, summarised here in verse by Hartwell. Perne preaches on the reverence and honour of kings, and what scripture permits and denies. Perne warns of the dreadful punishments in hell awaiting those who dare to lay bloody hands on the royal sceptre. There follows a banquet, at which the Queen is seated higher than all the others present. In the evening Plautus's *Aulularia* is performed, on a stage constructed in King's College chapel.²⁴

On the next day, Monday 7 August, disputations are performed. But first Masters describes the university library, which contains works in Latin and Greek and other tongues, and in which there are books which mark the conflict between Plato and Aristotle.

¹⁹ *Regina Literata*, pp. 6-7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

²³ The Master of Peterhouse — see *DNB*, s.v.

²⁴ For an account of this performance see Boas, *University Drama*, p. 93.

Hic Latio quaecunque sono, quaecunque Pelasgo,
 Quaecunque ignotis Musa locuta modis,
 Hic habitat quicquid doctus sudaverit orbis,
 Quicquid ad incudem tempus et hora tulit.
 Rex princepsque loci Stagirita, sed aemulus illi
 Magnus saepe Plato bella cruenta movet.
 Saepe hos horrendo vidi concurrere motu,
 Utrinque acceptum vulnus, utrinque datum.
 Nec requies odiis, non pax aut foedera: bella
 Iurata repetunt quotidiana manu.

(*Regina literata*, p. 12)

Then we hear first mention of the debates that commemorated the Queen's visit. These reflect the adversative and polemical nature of the university teaching and examinations of the time: Latin speeches for and against a particular issue would be delivered by the students, and a moderator would sum up. One of the debates is on the Aristotelian topic whether sight or hearing is more conducive to learning.²⁵ Sir William Cecil sums up this debate. In the Monday afternoon, the Queen herself comes to hear a debate between Thomas Byng, Master of Clare Hall, and later Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Thomas Cartwright. Hartwell presents the debates in terms of a military metaphor, of a clash of arms.²⁶ Thomas Byng argues that monarchs do not share power. There is for example only one sun and one moon, and one Neptune for the waves. In reply Cartwright argues that it is not right for one person to have such power. He argues by analogy that Nature is the universal step-mother of everyone, and that it would not be right for merely a single individual to receive her favours. But with that, as Hartwell remarks, Cartwright had shot his bolt, and missed the mark.²⁷ Then two other scholars, Laurence Chaderton and Thomas Preston²⁸ join the debate. Preston agrees that he does not want two kings in one kingdom, and is at one with Byng in preferring single sovereignty. But one has to bear in mind tyrants such as the Byzantine emperor Phocas, and the Romans Tarquin, Julius Caesar, and Nero. There is too a case to be

²⁵ *Regina literata*, p. 12.

²⁶ Caecilius litem haud dignam moderamine tali

Temperat, et docta praelia voce regit.

Ipse gubernaculo subit, et molitur habenas,

Pugnas arbitrio temperat ille suo. (*Regina literata*, pp. 12-13).

²⁷ Volat acta sagitta,

Errat, et infecto vulnere, fracta cadit. (*Regina literata*, p. 14).

²⁸ See *DNB*, s. v.

made for having more than one ruler: the Spartans had the Ephori, and the Romans had two consuls. Then Bartholomew Clerke, one of the leading prose stylists of sixteenth-century England,²⁹ rose to join the debate. He admits that he really prefers a monarchy, but, for the sake of argument, he takes a contrary view. Power confined to human hands runs the danger of being puffed up, and thinking the wrath of God to be unimportant. Thus, the rule of a single person was to be feared. Yet God, the Sun, and Nature were all one. Clerke enquires how kings are to be chosen? He asks if one can choose the heir, or whether the matter is to be decided by popular voice. Perhaps one ought just to have a king in times of war, as the Spartans did. But there was no danger of war at the moment. Clerke maintains that he would like a say in deciding when a monarch had to lay down the sceptre. However he concludes by saying that he has advanced these views for the sake of argument; in truth, he believes in monarchy.³⁰ Byng then refutes Clerke's arguments, though these are not given in detail here. To debate the value of monarchy might seem a curious thing for an Elizabethan to be doing in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, but she is however pleased by the debate, and praises Preston in particular. Walter Haddon, to whom Hartwell's work is addressed, then moderates the debate in the traditional fashion.

Some medical questions are next discussed: the size of meals, and whether elegant or simple food is to be preferred. Dr John Caius, the refounder of Caius college, and John Fryer, who translated some of Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* into Latin verses, take part in this debate, as does Robert Huicke, the Elizabeth's physician.³¹ Hartwell's poem then passes to another of the traditional features which characterised the royal visits to the universities in Tudor and Stuart England, the performance of academic plays: first the tragedy of *Dido*, by Edward Halliwell, and then the next night the tragedy *Ezechias* by Nicholas Udall, which ends with an encomium to the Queen.³²

On the next day, the Queen starts her formal progress round the Cambridge colleges, proceeding in a clockwise direction around the town starting in the west at King's College. She rides on a horse bedecked in

²⁹ See Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 258-64.

³⁰ Non quid qua nollem (quis enim florere Monarchos

Non optet) sensu dissimulante loquor. (*Regina literata*, p. 16).

³¹ See *DNB*.

³² Details of these performances are given by Boas, *University Drama*, pp. 94-7.

gold and with a golden bridle, and spectacular trappings.³³ There she is again greeted in a speech of welcome which points out that Clare Hall had been founded, expanded and completed by women, and maintains that the college is glad it is next door to King's, where the Queen is staying. Bartholomew Clerke then speaks words in the Queen's praise, and hands her the collection of verses made in honour of her coming by the members of King's College.³⁴ The Queen then passes first to Trinity Hall, then to Gonville and Caius, where she is again welcomed in verse.³⁵ The Queen next passes to the adjacent Trinity College, and there she is greeted, apparently in Greek,³⁶ by Bartholomew Doddington, the Regius Professor of Greek. Doddington remarks that the Queen's face and eyes are reminiscent of those of her father Henry VIII:

Dum loquitur, patris in nata reminiscitur ora,
Luminaque, haec quamvis virgo, vir ille foret.
Et mox, 'En,' inquit, 'Regis Regina, parentis
En dona, atque iterum dona parentis,' ait.
Sponte patris nomen canet, et cum dicere dona
Octavi posset, dona parentis ait.

(*Regina literata*, p. 23)

From there the Queen passes to St John's College, where her ancestral connection with the college, which was founded by the Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII and hence the queen's great-grandmother, is recalled. The Queen's cares of state are emphasised: she has to worry about what the English, the unbridled Welsh and the Irish are up to.³⁷ Yet the Irish fear her, and the Welsh are part of her dominions. The regions of the Thames, the Humber, the Severn and the Tweed are her responsibility, even though the latter river is outside her kingdom (in Scotland). The Queen then makes for Christ's College,

³³ Instratumque auro alipedem pictisque tapetis
Incepat, ex auro fraena corusca tenens.
It sonipes, fulvumque ferox sub dentibus aurum
Mandit, et obtutu lumina magna rotat.
Invitumque caput torquens in colla superbus,
Doctus compositos ferre referre gradus. (*Regina literata*, p. 20).

³⁴ *Regina literata*, p. 22.

³⁵ Virgo decus patriae, spes inclyta, virgo, tuorum,
Virgo sagittiferi gloria prima soli.
Quis tibi sublimi sudabit pectore versus,
Quisve canet sceptro non renuenda tuo? (*Regina literata*, p. 23).

³⁶ Hartwell's poems includes some words of Greek at this point (*Regina literata*, p. 23).

³⁷ Quid Angli/Wallique infraenes et quid Hybernus agat. (*Regina literata*, p. 24).

where a Greek speech was delivered, but reported by Sir Walter Haddon to Hartwell in Latin.³⁸ Then the Queen continues on her course to Pembroke College, where a speech about its foundress is delivered.³⁹ At the next college, Peterhouse, Queen Elizabeth is compared to Diana.⁴⁰ But the day is hot, and the tour of the colleges has to be curtailed, so that there is no time to go to the extremities of the city and thus to go to Jesus and Magdalene Colleges.

When all formal the speeches are over the Queen herself makes an oration to the university. She says that she was reluctant because of her feminine modesty, but had been moved to do so by the entreaties of her courtiers and by public demand. She exhorts the members of the university to apply themselves to their books. This will help them to rise in the world:

Principis hoc igitur signatum voce maneto,
 Virtus sit vestris intima cura libris.
 Sic et honoratos regum volitare per aulas,
 Sic licet ex humili scandere celsa loco.
 Omnia lustravi, peragravi tecta, domosque
 Quas posuit pietas relligiosa patrum.

(*Regina literata*, p. 28)

The Queen remarks that she has visited nine colleges (King's, Clare, Trinity Hall, Gonville and Caius, Trinity, St John's, Christ's, Pembroke and Peterhouse) and has observed the verses affixed to their walls. She calls the colleges the necklace of her kingdom (*monilia regni*). Whilst regretting that she has not yet founded a college, she consoles herself with the thought that 'Rome was not built in a day'. She says that she is still young and has not been on the throne long. If she should die without having founded a college, then that will be her dying wish.⁴¹ The response to that is that just the sight of the Queen has been pleasurable to the university. Even if the Queen does not found a college, the university has royal foundations worthy of the kingdom. The Queen has visited them, and the members of the university have seen her looking

³⁸ ... haud potuit Graium meminisse, Latine
 Sic (Haddone) tulit, sic tibi Musa feret. (*Regina literata*, p. 24).

The implication seems to be that the speaker had given Haddon a copy of a Latin version of his speech, the scribes being unable to copy down the Greek original.

³⁹ *Regina literata*, p. 25.

⁴⁰ Tu quoque Dictinna es, quamvis gestare pharetram

Non soleas, certe tu quoque Numen habes. (*Regina literata*, p. 25).

⁴¹ *Regina literata*, pp. 28-29.

at them, and this will be something that is known for ever. Moreover, the Queen has done what no sovereign before her has ever done: she has spoken to them in Greek and Latin before a crowded audience.⁴² Hartwell says he could go on for a long time writing on such topics; it is the hope of her subjects to write verses in measures that will not perish. The age to come will wonder at her, and will cherish her and her deeds.⁴³

On the last day of her visit, the nobility are given honorary M.A. degrees by the university. This is the last day of her visit, and therefore a sad one. The Queen mounts her horse, and Thomas Preston says the final words of farewell. In a prophetic speech, he expresses the hope that the Queen will protect the pure Muses and the sacred arts. For the Muses will surely celebrate the Queen's name, and convey to posterity the achievements of war and peace.⁴⁴ As the Queen departs, even little children who can hardly speak blab out the words, 'Vive, vale'. The streets as she departs are strewn with incense and herbs and leaves. The Queen reaches the ruins of Cambridge castle, and there she takes her leave.

Hartwell's *Regina literata* is a public celebration and demonstration, in the fluent and elegant Latin that was to become characteristic of Anglo-Latin writers, of the Queen's commitment to learning, to her country, to the protestant religion, and to the educational values which the university aimed to uphold. Hence the very public and ceremonious nature of the Queen's visit, in which the university put itself through its paces, so to speak, and demonstrated its prowess in oratory, in acting, in the composition of verses, in the intricacies of learned debates on politics and statecraft, among other matters, in the presence of the Queen and her courtiers. The visit sealed the compact between monarch and university, and the aristocrats who were given honorary degrees were also bound to its cause. Because the Queen upholds the protestant religion and learning

⁴² Rex nullus Graio, nullus sermone Latino
Ausus tam celebri verba referre loco. (*Regina literata*, p. 29).

⁴³ Plurima praeterea possem memoranda referre,
Et longos grata fallere voce dies.
Et tibi, Virgo, decus patriae, spes una tuorum,
Non cessaturis scribere verba modis.
Sed propero, ventura tamen mirabitur aetas,
Te pia posteritas et tua facta colet. (*Regina literata*, p. 29).

⁴⁴ Non te Lethaeae carpent obliviae ripae,
Nec totam in cineres vertet avara dies.
Sunt tibi Pierides curae, semperque fuerunt,
Sive colas pacem, seu fera bella geras. (*Regina literata*, p. 31).

at the same time, and because religion and learning flourish under her, Hartwell celebrated her virtues in these respects in his poem.⁴⁵ Abraham Hartwell concludes his poem with an extravagant epilogue which lavishes praise on its inspirer, Sir Walter Haddon.⁴⁶ His *Regina literata*, which was speedily printed in London in 1565, in effect set forth a programme for the national and religious renewal of the Elizabethan era. This era has remained even to this day in popular consciousness as one of the most remarkable in English history, and Queen Elizabeth as one of the most remarkable sovereigns. Such is the impression that they have left on later ages, through rhetoric, literature, history and art. The Latin literature of the age too saw Anglo-Latin writing attain a new peak. Both as a work of Latin literature and for the aspirations which it expressed, Abraham Hartwell's *Regina literata* is a remarkable emblem of the Elizabethan era.

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⁴⁵ Non hominum minima es, cuius vexilla secutus
Exclusit templis sacra superba Deus.

.....
Hic tibi, te quoniam canimus (lectissima Princeps),
Hic tibi sit nostro in carmine primus honos.

Ingenuas coluisse artes laus altera: perge
O decus, et titulis (dum licet) adde tuis. (*Regina literata*, p. 35).

⁴⁶ *Regina literata*, pp. 36-7.

Ian D. McFarlane

TOWARDS A RELIABLE EDITION OF GEORGE BUCHANAN'S PROFANE POEMS

The purpose of this contribution is to set out the manuscript and printed sources to be used in producing a dependable version of George Buchanan's profane poems. It will also highlight the endless reworking by Buchanan of his text, whose multiple variants present a particularly difficult challenge to the would be editor.

In focusing here on the profane poems I have to leave aside not only the particularly successful metrical Psalm paraphrases, but also Buchanan's translations from the Greek, his dramatic plays and his scientific poem *De sphaera*.¹

¹ For a first account I refer to my *Buchanan* (London, 1981), *passim*. Recent publications dealing with Buchanan's poetry include Philip Ford & W. S. Watt, *George Buchanan, Prince of Poets. With an Edition of the Miscellaneorum Liber* (Aberdeen, 1982); W. Beattie - J. Durkan, 'An Early Publication of Latin Poems of George Buchanan in Scotland from the Press of Lekpreuk', *The Bibliothek*, 11 (1983), 77-80; W. S. Watt, 'Notes on the Minor Poems of George Buchanan', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 47 (1985), 161-63; Id., 'New Poems by Buchanan, From Portugal', *Ibid.*, 49 (1987), 605-6; Ph. Ford, 'George Buchanan and the "Satyra in Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem"', in *Acta Conventus Neolatini Sanctandreami...* ed. I. D. McFarlane (Binghamton, 1986), pp. 43-50; B. Kytzler, 'Buchanan's Poetry on Rome', in *ibid.*, pp. 61-67; J. R. C. Martyn, 'New Poems by Buchanan, From Portugal', in *ibid.*, pp. 79-83; J. Durkan, *Bibliography of George Buchanan*, Glasgow University Studies, 1 (Glasgow, 1994); Marie-Thérèse Courtial, 'George Buchanan et la Saint-Barthélémy: la "Satyra in Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem"', *BHR*, 58 (1996), 151-63; Ead., 'L'éloge funèbre de Jean Calvin par George Buchanan, poème de circonstance ou profession de foi?', *Bulletin Société Histoire Protestantisme français*, 142 (1996), 175-89. For the Psalm paraphrases see the excellent contributions by R. P. H. Green, 'George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases. Matters of Metres', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami*, pp. 51-60 and 'The Text of George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases', *The Bibliothek*, 13 (1986), 3-29 and 'Horace's Odes in the Psalm Paraphrases of Buchanan', in *Acta Conventus Neolatini Guelpherbyntani ...* ed. M. Di Cesare, S. Revard, F. Rädle (Binghamton, 1988), pp. 71-80. The text of Buchanan's tragedies has been edited by P. Sharratt and P. G. Walsh (Edinburgh, 1983), and recently S. Berkowitz published a *Critical Edition of George Buchanan's Baptistes and of Its Anonymous Seventeenth-Century Translation Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized* (New York — London, 1992).

I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Manuscript sources include:

- 1) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms Baluze 208.
This MS is thought by some to be written by Buchanan. It contains a variety of poems, including the *Franciscanus*, the *Somnium* and the *In sc(h)araboeum*, which was never published for scatological reasons.
- 2) Bordeaux, Archives municipales, Delpit ms 213, fol. 257.
Contains one poem, *inc.* O formosa Amaryllis.
- 3) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 10383, fol. 310^r.
Contains the poem to Charles Utenhove, *inc.* Censor carminum meorum
- 4) Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1674.
Contains the *Pro Lena*.

The authenticity of a few other poems, such as the ones in the Vat. MSS Palat. lat. 1821 and Vat. lat. 5182, is dubious.

II. THE PRINTED EDITIONS

A. Editions printed during Buchanan's life time

- 1) The *Pasquillorum versus aliquot ex diversis auctoribus collecti*, printed by R. Lekpreuik (Edinburgh, 1565). Only copy in Trinity College, Cambridge². This book is a selection from poems of *Pasquillorum tomi duo*, collected by C. Secundus Curio (Basle, Io. Oporinus, 1544), to which are added seven poems by Buchanan. They all are, except for the first one, present (with slight variations) in the second volume of the Ruddiman — Burman edition of Buchanan's works, Leiden, 1725.
- 2) *Franciscanus. Varia eiusdem authoris poemata* (n. p., 1566). A copy of this first edition is in the Houghton Library, Harvard; a second copy is in my possession.
- 3) *Elegiarum Liber I. Sylvarum Liber I. Endecasyllabon Lib. I* (Paris, R. Estienne, 1567). Contains three books, plus the *Buchanani Iambi et alii versus lyrici*.
- 4) The edition of the *Laena*, together with verses by Antoine de Gouvea, etc. (Dijon, J. Des Planches, 1567). Only copy in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale.

² W. Beattie - J. Durkan, 'An Early Publication of Latin Poems', 77-80.

- 5) *Franciscanus et fratres* (Basle, Thomas Guarinus, 1568). A large volume prepared by Charles Utenhove and containing verses by distinguished humanists, such as Dorat, Michel de l'Hôpital and Turnèbe. In the Buchanan section there appears for the first time the complete set of *Fratres* poems, and the poem to Walter Haddon.
- 6) *Franciscanus....*(and other poems by Buchanan) (Geneva, H. Stephanus, 1569). This edition is primarily the second edition, much revised, of Beza's Latin poetry: *Theodori Bezae Vezelii Poematum Editio secunda, ab eo recognita. Item, ex Georgio Buchanano... excerpta carmina, praesertimque epigrammata.*
- 7) *Elegiarum Liber I. Sylvarum liber I. Endecasyllabon lib. I. Baptistes sive Calumnia, Tragoedia* (Paris, Mamert Patisson, 1579). Copy in St Andrews' UL and in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Contains the Ode on the fall of Calais 1559. A similar edition, but without the Ode on the fall of Calais, is kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

B. Liminary poems:

- 1) Liminary verses for François de Sagon, *Apologie en defense pour le Roy* (Paris, 1544);
- 2) Liminary verses for M. de Azpilcueta, *Relectio* (Coimbra, 1548);
- 3) Liminary verse for Diogo de Teive, *Commentarii de rebus in India ...* (Coimbra, 1548);
- 4) Liminary verses for M. A. Muret, *Juvenilia* (Paris, 1552 and 1553);
- 5) Liminary verses for J. Grévin, *Le Theatre... La seconde partie de l'Olimpe* (Paris, 1562)
- 6) Two epitaphs for J. Jewell in *Ioannis Iuelli... vita et mors*, ed. L. Humphrey (London, 1573).

C. Three posthumously printed poems:

- 1) The epicedion on John Calvin (died 1564), first published by Israel Taurinus in his *Selectorum carminum ex doctissimis poetis collectorum... libri IIII* (n. p., 1590).
- 2) The *Satyr*a on the Cardinal de Lorraine (died 1547). First published by I. Taurinus, p. 81; R. Sibbald, working from another ms., published this text as an appendix to the *Vita* of Buchanan (Edinburgh, 1702).
- 3) The epitaph on Alexander Gordon, published in the Records of Aboyne, MCCXXX — MDCLXXXI, ed. Charles IX Marquis of Huntly (Aberdeen, for the New Spalding Club, 1894), p. 395.

III. THE VARIANTS

Buchanan repeatedly revised his texts, particularly his profane poems, and this obliges us to look carefully at his alterations. An edition of these variants is undoubtedly needed, not only for accuracy and completeness, but also in order for us to rid ourselves of erroneous assumptions. It has been thought that Buchanan may have been preparing an edition of his poems — indeed, that he earnestly wished to produce a proper edition of his works. In fact, since he spent so much time introducing variants and continued to do so apparently until the last years of his life, these assumptions are probably false. We gain a strong impression that the humanist could not resist tinkering with his poems and that therefore he could hardly consider a poem to be in its definitive state, let alone produce a definitive published version of it. The fact that he left his texts to the care of editors, especially in France, confirms this view.

Some of these variants have been noted by earlier critics, but they do not amount to a full collation. The Scottish scholar Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757) published Buchanan's *Opera Omnia* in 1715 at Edinburgh; it was republished ten years later by Burman at Leiden. Ruddiman noted down many early variants, but since then further information about manuscripts and printed sources has come to light and should be taken into account.

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KOMIK IM LATEINISCHEN THEATER DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT

A. 'QUOD RIDENT HOMINES, PLORANDUM EST'

Der heilige Augustinus sagt in einer Predigt: 'Et rident homines et plorant homines: et quod rident homines, plorandum est.'¹ Schon im Alten Testament, bei *Jesus Sirach*, kann man lesen, nur ein törichter Mensch erhebe seine Stimme zum Gelächter: 'Fatuus in risu exaltat vocem suam'², und der *Ecclesiastes* warnt mit bedenklichen Worten vor jener Art von Fröhlichkeit, deren Ausdruck das Lachen ist:

Melius est ire ad domum luctus quam ad domum convivii... melior est ira risu, quia per tristitiam vultus corrigitur animus delinquentis. cor sapientium ubi tristitia est et cor stultorum ubi laetitia... quia sicut sonitus spinarum ardentium sub olla, sic risus stulti, sed et hoc vanitas.³

Kaum positiver ist das Urteil Benedikts von Nursia über das Lachen: der 10. und 11. Grad der Demut eines Mönchs (von insgesamt zwölfen) besteht darin, daß dieser 'non facilis ac promptus in risu' sein darf und daß er 'leniter et sine risu loqui'⁴ soll. Man sieht, das Lachen ist eine ernste Angelegenheit, und das Komische kann sehr tragisch genommen werden.

¹ *Patrologia Latina* 38, 194; vgl. dazu: G. Schmitz, "..."quod rident homines, plorandum est". Der «Unwert» des Lachens in monastisch geprägten Vorstellungen der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters', in *Stadtverfassung — Verfassungsstaat — Pressepolitik. Festschrift für Eberhard Naujoks zum 65. Geburtstag*, hg. v. F. Quarthal und W. Setzler (Sigmaringen, 1980), Ss. 3-15; vgl. auch B. Steidle, 'Das Lachen im alten Mönchtum', *Benediktinische Monatsschrift*, 20 (1938), 271-280, jetzt in Ders., *Beiträge zum alten Mönchtum* (Sigmaringen, 1986), Ss. 30-39. Vgl. auch E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), Exkurs IV: »Scherz und Ernst in mittelalterlicher Literatur«, Kap. 2: »Die Kirche und das Lachen« (Ss. 421-423).

² VULG., *Sirach* 21, 23.

³ VULG., *eccles.* 7, 3-7. In seinem Kommentar zum *Ecclesiastes* liest man bei Saloni-
(5. Jh.):

VERANUS (=Interlocutor): 'Quare dicit: Tempus flendi et tempus ridendi, tempus plangendi et tempus saltandi (VULG., *eccles.* 3, 4)? Quis enim ignorat, quia alio tempore flemus, alio autem ridemus? aut quid profuit dicere, tempus saltandi? Numquid forsitan ostendere voluit, quia oportet nos saltationum exercere ludicra? SALONIUS: Absit; nihil oportet nos scurriliter agere: sed tempus flendi est in vita praesenti, tempus ridendi in vita futura....' (PL 53, 999C).

⁴ *Benedicti Regula*, rec R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (Wien, 1960), cap. 7, 59.

Umberto Eco hat das in seinem Roman *Der Name der Rose* getan, indem er die subversive Wirkung des Lachens, das die Ordnung und auch die Macht gefährden kann, schaurig ausmalte⁵ und dabei übrigens auch die schon zitierten Belege aus Benedikts *Regula* einsetzte.

Es ist, durchaus im Sinne Ecos, anzunehmen, daß die inzwischen unübersehbare Fülle von Untersuchungen über die verschiedenen kulturellen Erscheinungsformen der Komik, des Grotesken, des Karnevalesken, der »Verkehrten Welt«, der »Lachkultur« ganz allgemein auch ein Resultat der systematischen Bezweiflung von Autoritäten aller Art ist, wie sie zumindest bis vor wenigen Jahren überall mit großem Ernst betrieben wurde. Das Lachen also kann als ein sanft scheinendes, aber effektives Mittel gegen von oben wirkende politische Tyrannei im gesellschaftlichen Bereich, vor allem aber gegen innerpersonale Tyrannei in der Psyche eines Individuums eingesetzt werden: Lachen als Mittel und zugleich als Zeichen des Sieges über die Furcht — dies ist die Grundidee eines sehr überzeugenden und überdies heiteren Theoretikers der Lachkultur, dessen Name hier für viele andere Namen stehen soll: Michail Bachtin.⁶

Im übrigen halte ich mich aus der Theoriediskussion lieber heraus und berichte stattdessen, sozusagen auf der Ebene der noch ungeordneten Phänomene, über einige Erfahrungen mit Komik im lateinischen Theater des 16. und des beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts. Es ist offenkundig, daß die lateinische Theaterkomik dieser Zeit nur einen kleinen und vor allem einen eher domestizierten Ausschnitt aus den vitalen und oft wilden Erscheinungsformen der Lachkultur darstellt. Formal steht das lateinische Drama zwar ganz in der Tradition der klassischen lateinischen Komödie, also des Plautus und des Terenz, aber die Stoffe, die es behandelt, und die Botschaft, die es verkündet, gehören normalerweise ausdrücklich der christlichen Welt an. Eindeutig christlich ist

⁵ Vgl. dazu «... eine finstere und fast unglaubliche Geschichte»? *Mediävistische Notizen zu Umberto Ecos Mönchsroman 'Der Name der Rose'*, hg. v. M. Kerner (Darmstadt, 1987); besonders ergiebig für das vorliegende Thema der Beitrag von P. von Moos, 'Umberto Ecos offenes Mittelalter. Meditationen über die Historik des Romans', Ss. 128-68, hier Ss. 153-57 (vgl. z. B. S. 153: «ein zirkelhaft auf Autoritäten beruhendes und Autoritäten begründendes System des Absoluten... war bedroht durch eine autoritative Lehre vom Komischen und Relativen, das die Kraft hat, feste Substanzen zu dynamisieren, Wahrheitspetrifakte aufzulösen.»)

⁶ Michail M. Bachtin, *Literatur und Karneval. Zur Romantheorie und Lachkultur*. Aus dem Russischen übersetzt und mit einem Nachwort versehen von A. Kaempfe (Frankfurt a. M., 1990).

das kulturelle Profil der Autoren, der Veranstalter und der Zuschauer, und das religiöse Bewußtsein aller Beteiligten ist in dieser Zeit der Reformation und Gegenreformation natürlicherweise außerordentlich wach. Haben wir es also, nach den zu Anfang erwähnten Vorbehalten des Christentums gegen das Lachen, mit eher bedenklichen Bedingungen für Komik zu tun? Keineswegs.

Der bereits genannte Bachtin schreibt: 'Das 16. Jahrhundert ist die hohe Zeit in der Geschichte des Lachens'⁷, und man darf hinzufügen: das lateinische Theater hat seinen spezifischen Anteil daran. Bevor dies konkretisiert und illustriert werden kann, muß in jedem Fall Thomas von Aquin noch zu Wort kommen.

B. KOMIK ALS ERQUICKUNG DER SEELE NACH THOMAS VON AQUIN

Das Verdikt des Lachens, wie wir es z. B. bei Benedikt für die monastische Gemeinschaft verordnet fanden, ist zum Glück nicht das einzige und letzte Wort der christlichen Kirche zu unserem Thema geblieben.⁸ Wie man bei genauerer Prüfung nachweisen könnte, bezieht sich Benedikt mit seinen Warnungen hauptsächlich auf das unseriöse und indezente Witzemachen, die in den rauen Männergemeinschaften der christlichen Orden offenbar gut gedeihende 'scurrilitas', der die Obszönität nicht fern ist. 'Scurrilitas' und 'inepta laetitia', deftiges Possenreißen und Ausgelassenheit, gelten dem Mittelalter als 'filiae gulae'⁹, was sich sehr gut mit Bachtins Überlegungen zur 'Leiblichkeit'¹⁰ der Lachkultur verträgt.

Thomas von Aquin läßt sich nicht schrecken von solchen depravierten Formen des Komischen: für ihn ist 'scurrilitas' nicht etwa eine niedere Spezies von Komik, die ihre ganze (ohnehin sehr vielgestaltige) Gattung diskriminieren könnte, sondern nur eine Verirrung, ein Versagen des kultivierten Witzes.¹¹ Er ist sich hier einig mit Aristoteles und vor allem

⁷ Ibidem, S. 45.

⁸ Zu diesem Komplex vgl. M. Wehrli, 'Christliches Lachen, christliche Komik?', in *From Wolfram and Petrarch to Goethe and Grass. Studies in Literature in Honour of Leonard Forster*, ed. D. H. Green - L. P. Johnson - D. Wuttke, *Saecula Spiritalia*, 5 (Baden-Baden, 1982), Ss. 17-31.

⁹ Vgl. Johannes von Erfurt, *Summa confessorum*, ed. N. Brieskorn (Frankfurt a. M. - Bern - Cirencester/U.K., 1981) Teil 2, Liber I, Ss. 632-33.

¹⁰ Vgl. Bachtin (wie Anm. 6), Ss. 15-23: »Die groteske Gestalt des Leibes«.

¹¹ Über den Gegensatz 'urbanitas' — 'rusticitas' bei den Humanisten vgl. B. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*, Mikrokosmos, 18 (Frankfurt a. M. - Bern - New York, 1986), bes. Ss. 296-97.

mit Cicero, der im ersten Buch *De officiis* die Begriffe 'ludus' und 'iocus' auf eine auch für die Christen überzeugende, ja attraktive Weise beschrieben hat.¹²

Es ist die von Cicero gerühmte maßvolle, vornehme und geistreiche, sprachlich witzige Komik,¹³ die Thomas von Aquin in seiner *Summa theologiae* als ein humanes und legitimes Vermögen und zugleich Bedürfnis anerkennt:¹⁴ 'Circa ludos et jocos, qui nonnunquam ad animi solamen utiles sunt, illa virtus versatur quam eutrapeliam vocant.'¹⁵ Komik hat, Thomas zufolge, eine psychisch begütigende und heilende Funktion, insofern sie dem überanstrengten Menschen Trost und Stille bietet. Sie ist ein legitimer Teil der 'delectatio animalis', die der Seele Erholung, 'quamdam animae quietem', vermitteln kann. Die psychische Ermüdung, die 'fatigatio animalis', soll und darf durch Komik behoben werden. Die enorme Nachwirkung des Thomas von Aquin in der katholischen Theologie gerade nach dem Konzil von Trient ist, wie wir am Beispiel der Jesuiten noch sehen werden, der Würdigung des Theaters und seiner durch Komik entspannenden Funktion zugute gekommen.

C. KOMIK IM GLAUBENSKAMPF

Wer die Geschichte und besonders die Kirchengeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts auch nur oberflächlich kennt, wird zunächst skeptisch aufhorchen, wenn für diese Zeit vom spielerischen Einsatz von Theaterkomik die Rede ist. Die Verhältnisse waren in den ersten Jahrzehnten der Glaubenspaltung wirklich nicht so, daß sie Platz geboten hätten für eine im humanen Sinne des Thomas von Aquin tröstende und entspannende Komik. Das Theater wurde wie kaum eine andere literarische Gattung zunächst in den Dienst der Reformation gestellt. Auf Komik als eine sicher wirkende energische Methode, zuerst einmal beim Publikum Interesse zu wecken und danach diesem Publikum etwas deutlich oder gar drastisch zu erklären, konnten und wollten die protestantischen Dramatiker keineswegs verzichten. Nicht nur die volkssprachigen, auch die dem Humanismus bzw. der Schule verpflichteten lateinischen Dramen

¹² Vgl. vor allem Cicero, *De officiis* I, 29, 102-104 (von Thomas zitiert).

¹³ 'ipsumque genus iocandi non profusum nec immodestum, sed ingenuum et facetum esse debet' (Cicero, *ibid.*, 103).

¹⁴ *Summa theologiae*, Secunda secundae Quaest. CLXVIII, Art. II und III.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Art. II, Conclusio.

aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts sind voller Komik, allerdings einer eindeutig aggressiven, satirischen Komik. Ihr Ziel war gerade nicht die Entspannung, sondern die Anstrengung, die Aufregung der Zuschauer und ihre geistige Mobilisierung. Das war bei der gegebenen historischen Situation gar nicht anders zu erwarten: es galt ja, einen klar zu benennenden Feind, nämlich das Papsttum, mit den sichtbaren Deformationen seiner Herrschaft zu treffen, und dafür fand man im literarischen Arsenal aggressiver und subversiver Komik taugliche Waffen: wütende oder auch sich totlachende mimische Satire (wie z. B. die *Epistolae virorum obscurorum* oder Pirckheimers dramatische Invektive gegen Luthers Gegner Johannes Eck, den *Eckius dedolatus*), und auf der Theaterbühne alle Arten von Scherz, Satire, Ironie, Parodie, Spott und Hohn.

D. KOMIK AUS WUT BEI THOMAS NAOGEORGUS

Ein Vertreter dieser aggressiven, satirischen Komik ist der wahrscheinlich bedeutendste lateinische Dramatiker des 16. Jahrhunderts, der im bayerischen Straubing geborene Thomas Kirchmair, der sich später gräzisierung Thomas Naogeorgus nannte.¹⁶ Im Jahre 1538 veröffentlichte er in Wittenberg ein Antichrist-Drama mit dem Titel *Tragoedia nova Pammachius*,¹⁷ in dem der Papst ganz im Sinne Luthers mit der aus der biblischen, apokryphen und mittelalterlichen Tradition bekannten mythischen Figur des Antichrist oder Endchrist identifiziert ist. Das Stück, das Naogeorgus persönlich dem von ihm zu dieser Zeit noch hochverehrten, später bekämpften, Luther in einer eigenen Vorrede widmet, schildert den rücksichtslosen und korrupten Ausbau der Macht des Papsttums und endet, historisch in der Gegenwart, mit den ersten Anzeichen des Zusammenbruchs dieser Macht. Christus nämlich schickt die allegorische Figur der 'Veritas' in Begleitung des heiligen Paulus in eine kleine Stadt an der Elbe (scil. Wittenberg); dort wohnt 'Theophilus', der Freund Gottes (scil. Luther), der das Papsttum besiegen und der Wahrheit des Evangeliums den Weg bereiten wird. (V. 3142-3156)

¹⁶ Vgl. H.-G. Roloff, 'Naogeorg, Thomas', in *Literaturlexikon*, hg. W. Killy, 15 Bde (München, 1988-1993), 8, 330-332.

¹⁷ Thomas Naogeorg, *Sämtliche Werke*, hg. von H.-G. Roloff, Erster Band: Dramen 1: *Tragoedia nova Pammachius nebst der deutschen Übersetzung von Johann Tyrolff*, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts (Berlin - New York, 1975).

In dieser erbarmungslosen, vernichtenden Tragödie finden sich einige Szenen von grotesker Komik, zum Beispiel ein vom Teufel zur Feier seines Triumphes arrangiertes Höllenfest (V. 2891-2992), zu dem der gesamte katholische Klerus geladen ist. Die Mönche können das Gelage kaum erwarten, sie kommen mit bereits gelockertem Kuttengürtel, 'laxato cingulo' (V. 2916), und prügeln sich um die besten Plätze am Tisch.¹⁸ Der Teufel besorgt für jeden noch ein 'scortum elegans', ein 'hu^bbsches Hu^rlein', wie es in einer zeitgenössischen Übersetzung¹⁹ heißt: denn 'On Weiber kann kein freud volkomen sein' (V. 3821), 'Nulla sine mulieribus sunt plena gaudia' (V. 2925). Der Speiseplan ist interessant: unter anderem wird gereicht der fette Kadaver eines reichen Mannes, den der Teufel dazu überredet hatte, der Kirche sein Vermögen zu vermachen²⁰ (es ist das variierte Motiv der *Totenfresser* des Pamphilus Gengenbach). Der nächste Gang besteht aus dem Haus einer Witwe²¹ gemäß dem Wort Jesu bei Matthäus 23,14: 'Vae vobis, scribae et pharisei hypocritae, quia comeditis domos viduarum orationes longas orantes!' Danach reicht man Würste, die mit dem Mark und Blut der armen Leute gefüllt sind;²² zum Nachtsch gibt es die Sünden der Menschen in reicher Auswahl: 'omnis generis delicta... mortalium.' (V. 2964)

Auch die Parodie, bereits im Mittelalter eine gern gepflegte Unterart komischer Literatur mit subversiven Energien, vor allem die Parodie liturgischer Handlungen spielt bei Naogeorgus eine sehr ernste Rolle. Im *Pammachius* findet sich sogar ein rares Beispiel von Bibel-Parodie, zweifellos eine delikate Sache zu einer Zeit, in der das biblische Wort neue Würde bekommen hatte.

Ich zitiere eine Partie aus dem 5. Auftritt des dritten Akts, in dem Pammachius, also der Antichrist, also der Papst, seine neue perverse Weltordnung verkündet und eine neue Welt erschafft. Er tut das unter Verwendung des biblischen Schöpfungsberichts:

¹⁸ V. 2918: DROMO: 'Hem monachi sortiuntur verberibus locum.'

¹⁹ Johann Tyrolff, *Ein Christlich / und gantz lustig Spiel / Darinn des Antichristischen Bapstthumbs Theuffliche lehr / und wesen / wunder meisterlich dargeben wird*. Die Übersetzung ist in Roloffs Ausgabe (wie Anm. 17) parallel zum lateinischen Text abgedruckt, hier V. 3819, S. 389.

²⁰ V. 2933-34: 'Carpite nunc. Istuc est cadaver divitis, / Quem iussi vobis testamentum condere.'

²¹ V. 2937-40: '... Haec viduae est domus / Quae vestrarum precum esse volebat particeps. / Optima supellex est. Vorate singula, / Nec tectis his nec fundamentis parcite.'

²² V. 2946-47: 'Haec farcimina sunt, magnis confecta artibus / Miserorum hominum è medulla atque sanguine.'

Producat doctrina mea Monachorum ordines
 Tonsos et intonsos, pullos et candidos.
 Mixtique coloris, pauperes et divites.
 Cinctos et discinctos, pelliceos, laneos,
 Et lineos, Epicuraeos et Stoicos.

....
 Pariat doctrina mea Canonicos nobiles
 Qui canibus et equis Romanam doceant fidem.

...
 Effodiantur divorum reliquiae, osculis
 Honorentur, gemmis tegantur lucidis.

...
 Divis ponantur statuae, pingantur imagines,
 Appareant animae, fiant miracula. (V. 2442-2466)

An dieser Stelle unterbricht der dienstbare Sophist Porphyrius seinen Herrn Pammachius mit den Worten:

Cessa, rogo, et die quiesce septimo.
 Equidem Satanas creaturas has mirabitur. (V. 2467-2468)

Natürlich leistet sich Naogeorgus neben so bitterer religiöser Zeitkritik manchmal auch etwas entspanntere Formen von Komik, über die vor allem Philologen lachen konnten und können. Er realisiert z. B., daß die Bezeichnung für den Pontifex Romanus, 'papa', in einigen Casus identisch ist mit der lateinischen Interjektion 'papae', mit der die Römer Verwunderung oder Befremden zum Ausdruck brachten, und er findet, daß dies eine adäquate Bezeichnung für ein Phänomen sei, über das sich die ganze Welt ja doch nur wundern könne. In seiner großen ironischen Rede über die Mysterien der Papstkirche sagt Porphyrius u. a.:

Unde nec
 Consueto debet Episcoporum nomine
 Deinceps appellari, sed nomen aliud
 Admirandi concedat interiectio,
 Papa vocetur, mundi solus miraculum.
 Nec ab re. Quid enim aut est, aut dicit, aut facit,
 Quod non quis dignum iudicet miraculo? (V. 2100-2106)

E. WITZ UND HUMANISTENGEMÜT: NIKODEMUS FRISCHLIN

Wortwitze dieser Art, die nur schwer ins Deutsche zu übertragen sind, begegnen in jedem lateinischen Drama der damaligen Zeit.²³ Modell

²³ Vermutlich gehen die Scherze, die Nikodemus Frischlin in seinen Dramen mit der Anspielung auf den Papst durch die Interjektion 'papae' macht, auf Naogeorgus zurück;

dafür standen natürlich die hochgeschätzten antiken Vertreter der Gattung, Plautus und Terenz. Wie sie waren auch die Humanisten große Sprachspieler, die sich mit besonderem Vergnügen produktiv — etymologisierend, zitierend und parodierend — dem Material der lateinischen Sprache bzw. dem anspruchsvollen Spiel mit literarischem Bildungsgut hingaben. Das verleiht den Dramen immer eine gewisse, wenigstens punktuelle Behaglichkeit. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, daß selbst in den erbittertsten konfessionellen Kämpfen der Literaten das gemeinsame humanistische Fundament, buchstäblich verkörpert in der lateinischen Sprache, ein stark wirkendes Element des Ausgleichs, sozusagen ein Vorschlag zur Güte war. Das läßt sich bei dem bereits erwähnten *Eckius dedolatus* feststellen, und ganz besonders gilt es für den protestantischen Humanisten und geborenen Philologen Nikodemus Frischlin, der eine ganze Komödie auf der Idee des Spiels mit der lateinischen Sprache aufbaute. Im *Priscianus vapulans*, dem 'malträtierten Priscian', aufgeführt im Jahre 1578 zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum der Universität Tübingen, wird nach dem »Redivivus-Prinzip« der spätantike Grammatiker Priscian in die Neuzeit versetzt — zu seinem Unglück, denn das Latein, das er von den akademischen Vertretern aller Fakultäten hören muß, ist für ihn eine einzige Qual. Jede lateinische Äußerung der Philosophen, Mediziner, Juristen und Theologen, die aktweise nacheinander immer durch zwei Vertreter auf der Bühne repräsentiert werden, wirkt wie ein Hieb oder Stoß auf Priscian, so daß er schließlich, aus tausend Wunden blutend und bereits ohnmächtig, von Erasmus und Melanchthon, den beiden humanistischen Heroen des reinen lateinischen Stils, wiederbelebt werden muß.

F. PÄDAGOGISCHE UND PSYCHAGOGISCHE KOMIK BEI DEN JESUITEN

Der Verfasser des *Priscianus vapulans*, der verschiedene Lutheraner Frischlin, wurde überraschenderweise auch in katholischen Schulen gelesen, und zwar, wie sein Biograph Georg Pflüger aus Ulm betont, vor allem bei denen, die unter den Katholischen als die gebildetsten gelten, den Jesuiten.²⁴ In einem unveröffentlichten Brief aus dem Jahre

vgl. F. Rädle, 'Einige Bemerkungen zu Frischlins Dramatik', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani*, ed. by Stella P. Revard - F. Rädle - M. A. Di Cesare, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 53 (Binghamton - New York, 1988), S. 297, Anm. 38.

²⁴ 'Paraphrases Virgilianas ut et Comoedias, ipsi pontificii, et qui inter eos doctissimi habentur Iesuitae admirantur et discipulis suis proponunt' (*Vita Nicodemi Frischlini Balingensis...* Recensente M. Georgio Pflügero Ulmano, Argentorati 1605, S. 38).

1610 lobt der Augsburger Jesuit Georg Stengel, selbst ein bedeutender Dramatiker seines Ordens, Frischlin als den 'Plautus unserer Zeit': 'nostri saeculi Plautus'.²⁵

Um der literaturhistorischen Gerechtigkeit willen muß nun diesen 'gebildetsten unter den Katholischen', den theaterfreudigen Jesuiten, die noch verbleibende Aufmerksamkeit gehören.

Für die Jesuiten stand fest, daß die Reformation im wesentlichen eine Folge der geistigen Verelendung des Klerus war. Das Fundament ihres eigenen Reformprogramms für die katholische Kirche war dementsprechend die sorgfältige humanistische Bildung der Jugend. Zur universalen Pflege des Lateinischen und zu den 'Incitamenta studiorum' gehörte für die Jesuiten von Anfang an das lateinische Theater: 'nec dramata aequo diutius intermittantur; friget enim poesis sine theatro', steht in der *Ratio atque Institutio studiorum* vom Jahre 1591.²⁶ Das Theaterspiel war ein wichtiger Teil ihrer Pädagogik, in der die geistige Entspannung, die 'remissio animi' im Sinne des Thomas von Aquin, nicht nur geduldet, sondern geradezu konstitutiv war. Bereits in der (revidierten) Studienordnung vom Jahre 1586 liest man unter dem Titel 'Incitamenta studiorum' folgende Bewertung der Theaterarbeit:

Adolescentes tandem eorumque parentes mirifice exhilarantur atque accenduntur, nostrae etiam devinciuntur Societati, cum nostra opera possunt in theatro pueri aliquid sui studii, actionis, memoriae specimen exhibere. Agendae itaque videntur comediae ac tragaediae...²⁷

In derselben Verordnung werden die Direktoren der Jesuitengymnasien ermahnt, bei aller christlichen Strenge die Heiterkeit der Lehrer zu bewahren:

Tandem illud universim habendum est, rectoribus nihil antiquius, nihil optabilius esse debere, quam ut, salva religiosae pietatis disciplina praceptorum conservent hilaritatem, et in ea posita esse praesidia omnia scholarum bene gerendarum existiment.²⁸

Der erfolgreiche Schulbetrieb schien nur bei unverbissener, entspannter Haltung aller Beteiligten gewährleistet.

²⁵ Georg Stengel am 19. Februar 1610 an Matthäus Rader (vgl. Archivum Prov. Germ. Superioris S. J., München, Mscr. I, 29, Nr. 130).

²⁶ *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, nova editio penitus retractata, ed. Ladislaus Lukács S. I. (Romae, 1986), S. 241.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 205.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 180.

Ein niemals auf befriedigende Weise gelöstes Problem für die Jesuiten bestand darin, daß nur ein geringer Teil ihres Publikums in der Lage war, das lateinische Drama seinem Wortlaut nach zu verfolgen. Die meisten ihrer oft nach Tausenden zählenden Zuschauer waren Analphabeten, und ihnen mußte man, wenn man sie nicht ganz vernachlässigen wollte, etwas vom lateinischen Dialog Unabhängiges, nach Möglichkeit Interessantes, Unterhaltendes und Verständliches bieten. Man wählte in der Regel leichte, eindeutige Stoffe und bereits bekannte Geschichten, man markierte die handelnden Personen unmißverständlich, etwa die allegorischen Figuren, Engel und Teufel, man musizierte und tanzte. Vor allem aber gab man den Leuten etwas Komisches zum besten. In den ersten Jahrzehnten haben die Jesuiten einfach zwischen die seriöse lateinische Handlung volkssprachige Intermedien eingeschoben, und zwar meist derb realistische, schwankartige Szenen in Knittelversen, oft mit tölpelhaften Personen (z. B. einem Bauern und seiner Frau) als Akteuren, sozusagen kurze Fastnachtsspiele, die vom laufenden lateinischen Stück völlig unabhängig waren und lediglich das nicht lateinkundige Publikum bei Laune halten sollten.²⁹ Wir haben Zeugnisse dafür, daß die Jesuiten diese Konzessionen nur mit schlechtem Gewissen gemacht haben, und bald kamen die ersten Warnungen, schließlich das Verbot vom Jesuiten-general aus Rom: Die *Ratio Studiorum* des Jahres 1599 brachte folgende lakonische³⁰ und endgültige Regelung:

Tragoediarum et comoediarum, quas non nisi latinas ac rarissimas esse oportet, argumentum sacrum sit ac pium; neque quicquam actibus interpolatur, quod non latinum sit et decorum, nec persona ulla muliebris vel habitus introducatur.³¹

Aus späteren Ermahnungen ähnlicher Art³² weiß man, daß die mögliche Depravierung seriöser Schauspiele durch billige Komik, auch wenn

²⁹ Daß derartige Intermedien auch noch nach dem gleich zu erwähnenden Verbot aus Rom weiter gepflegt wurden, beweist z. B. die Perioche eines Luzerner Jesuitendramas aus dem Jahre 1642. Am Schluß der Inhaltsangabe des Spiels *Vol=Bewärte Tugend Pelagii* folgen vier 'Kurtzweilige / in 4. Theil getheilte Faßnacht Gespräch / welche zwischen den 5. Acten dero Comoedi gehalten werden'; vgl. E. M. Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Eine Periochen-Edition* (München, 1980), Bd. II, 1, Ss. 499-500.

³⁰ Es fällt auf, daß der Pflege des Theaters in den früheren Studienordnungen noch größere und entschieden positivere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt worden war. Möglicherweise empfand man in Rom die in der Zwischenzeit überall florierende Theaterpraxis als bedenklich.

³¹ Wie Anm. 26, S. 371.

³² In einer vertraulichen handschriftlichen *Instructio pro censoribus librorum* vom Jahre 1631 heißt es: 'Dramatibus, Comoediis Tragoediisque quae subinde variis in locis a discipulis nostris in scena aguntur, aiunt interdum admisceri multa ad risum spectantium

diese Komik sich nunmehr an das lateinische Reinheitsgebot hielt, eine ständige Sorge der Ordensoberen war.³³ Das zeigt z. B. das folgende Zitat aus den das Theater betreffenden Kapiteln 35 und 37 der *Adiumenta quaedam pro studiis Humanitatis in Gymnasiis Societatis promovendis et illustrandis*, die im Jahre 1619 für die Rheinische Provinz erlassen wurden:

35. Accommodentur actiones omnes ad finem, quem Societas intendit, ad motum animorum in detestationem malorum morum, pravaru[m] consuetudinum, fugam occasionum peccandi, ad studium maius virtutum, ad imitationem Sanctorum, quorum vitae si in scenam producantur, non permittatur, ut de iis, quae bene et sancte gesserunt, quaeque ad exemplum esse possunt, ieiune et obiter tantum agatur, prolixius autem de figmentis ridiculis ad rem non pertinentibus, et de quibusdam levitatibus puerilibus.

37. Caveatur item, ne, quod justam reprehensionem habet, in omni actione producantur Daemones, Mendici, Potatores, blasphemi, pueri leviculi....³⁴

Nur solche »kindische« Komik galt als mit den frommen Gegenständen (wie Heiligenleben) unverträglich. In der Praxis wurde auch in Stücken mit entschieden religiösem Anspruch erfolgreich oft fein kalkulierte Komik eingesetzt, wobei man sicher sein konnte, daß dies keine Einbuße, sondern gerade eine Steigerung des 'motus animorum' und damit der moralischen Katharsis bewirkte.

In den *Annales collegii Monacensis* liest man über die Aufführung des Schauspiels *Ferdinandina* vom Jahre 1652:

Ac tulit universim Actio illa ingentem plausum, magna Societatis apud Advenas commendatione: fuit enim ita temperata, ut graviter iucunda Spectatorem novis identidem spectaculis, grata tristium laetorumque vicissitudine distineret.³⁵

ciendum, quae mimos magis et histriones quam religiosos viros decent. Proinde adlaborandum erit, ut nihil simile fiat.' (Vgl. K. Th. Heigel, 'Zur Geschichte des Censurwesens in der Gesellschaft Jesu', *Archiv für Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels*, 6 (1881), 164).

³³ Zum Problem generell vgl. J.-M. Valentin, 'Bouffons ou religieux? Le débat sur le théâtre dans l'Allemagne catholique au début du XVII^e siècle (A. Albertinus, H. Guarnonius)', *Revue d'Allemagne*, 12 (1980), 442-480.

³⁴ *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes*, ed. G. M. Pachtler S. J., Vol. IV, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, 16 (Berlin, 1894), S. 186.

³⁵ Archivum Prov. Germ. Superioris Mscr. I, 45, S. 429. Die Aufführung fand zu Ehren der Erzherzöge Ferdinand und Sigismund statt und handelte von der Christianisierung Mexikos. — Eine Mischung von 'gravitas' und 'hilaritas' ist das erklärte Ziel des erfolgreichen portugiesischen Dramatikers Ludovicus Crucius (Luís da Cruz S. J.), der im Vorwort der posthum erschienenen Sammlung seiner *Tragicae, comicaeque actiones* (Lyon, 1605) schreibt: '(Hoc secutus exemplum,) malui tragicocomedias dare quam vel solas Comoedias aut Tragoedias. Ut et gravitas esset nostris hominibus gratissima, et hilaritas quaedam popularis, quae per intervalla spectatorem recrearet.' (** 4)

Gerade die begabten Dramatiker bauten in ihre psychisch oft strapaziösen Schauspiele mit Vorliebe komische Szenen ein. Jakob Bidermann ist ein Beispiel dafür, daß man sich so 'aus den Scherzen und dem Gelächter eine Bahn zu den heilsamen Tränen verschaffen' konnte und daß gerade 'die komischsten Stücke geistlich am ertragreichsten' waren, wie es in der Vorrede an den Leser seiner posthumen Dramenedition vom Jahre 1666 heißt.³⁶

Die Jesuiten hatten oft das Leben von Sündern, verlorenen und bekehrten, mit dem Anspruch auf Wahrscheinlichkeit darzustellen. Dabei boten ihnen in der Regel die Stationen von Verfehlung und Schuld ihrer Helden Gelegenheit, eindeutig profanes Leben auf der Bühne vorzuführen, in dem sich Komik und komische Figuren leicht entfalten konnten.³⁷ Intrigante Diener und Parasiten aus der Schule der klassischen lateinischen Komödie, Narren, die wie bei Shakespeare das Richtige wissen, liederliche Musikanten, die in einem Traktat des 16. Jahrhunderts als 'des Teuffels hofierer'³⁸ bezeichnet werden, und, nicht zu vergessen der Teufel selbst — oder besser: die Teufel mit ihren zahlreichen Helfern — treten hier meist turbulent in Aktion. Man könnte dafür zahllose Beispiele nennen, ich muß mich mit einem einzigen Fall begnügen, einem Spiel vom *Verlorenen Sohn*, das 1575 im Fuldaer Jesuitenkolleg aufgeführt wurde und in einer einzigen Handschrift in Fulda³⁹ erhalten blieb. In diesem Stück ist der moralische Niedergang des Helden, der in der Fremde sein Erbe verpraßt, anschaulich dargestellt. Auf der Bühne wird gespottet, getrunken, gewürfelt, mit Dirnen angebandelt, und auf dem Höhepunkt der Stimmung verlangt der Verlorene Sohn nach den Musikanten. In der Handschrift steht an dieser Stelle eine Regieanweisung: 'Chorus hoc loco canit cationem sumptam ex Horlando, cuius initium est Ave color vini' (fol. 18^v). Das bedeutet, daß hier ein Lied des

³⁶ Jakob Bidermann, *Ludi theatrales 1666*, hg. von R. Tarot, Deutsche Neudrucke, Reihe Barock, 6 (Tübingen, 1967): '... facile deprehendent (scil. Catones Censorini), Poetam ex ipsis jocis et risibus iter sibi ad salubres lacrymas fecisse;' (S. 11) '... Nec est silentio praetereundum hoc loco, fuisse à non nemine animadversum, ex P. Bidermanni Comoedijs eas, quae maximè erant jocularæ, et hilaritatis quamplurimum continebant, fructu prae alijs fuisse uberrimas.' (S. 14)

³⁷ Vor dieser »Gefahr« warnt die oben (Anm. 34) zitierte Verlautbarung aus dem Jahre 1619.

³⁸ *Tantzteuffel: Das ist wider den leichtfertigen / unverschmpten Welt tantz...* Gestellet durch Florianum Daulen von Fürstenberg... (Frankfurt a. M., 1567), in *Teufelbücher in Auswahl*, hg. v. R. Stambaugh, 2. Band (Berlin - New York, 1972), S. 138.

³⁹ Fulda, LB, C 18, fol. 1^r-27^v.

Orlando di Lasso gesungen wird, und zwar ein Hymnus auf den Wein — aber wer genau hinhört, merkt sofort, daß wir es mit der Parodie eines Marienhymnus zu tun haben. Zwei Strophen seien daraus zitiert:

Ave color vini clari,
Ave sapor sine pari,
Tua nos inebriari
Digneris potentia....

Felix guttur, quod rigabis,
Felix venter, quem intrabis,
Os beatum, quod lavabis,
Et beata viscera.⁴⁰

Parodie, zumal Parodie religiöser Texte ist in diesem stabilen Rahmen katholischer Einmütigkeit erkennbar gemütlicher als in Naogeorgs *Pam-machius*. Gleichfalls nicht denkbar in protestantischen Zusammenhängen ist ein Text wie der folgende virtuos-diabolisch-spielerische Anfang einer barocken Komödie, die der Münchener Jesuit Georg Bernardt (gestorben 1660) unter dem Titel *Jovianus* zur Eröffnung des Wintersemesters im Jahre 1623 an der Universität Ingolstadt verfaßt und inszeniert hat. (Danach ist sie noch einmal während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, 1642, mit großem Erfolg an der Universität Dillingen a. D. aufgeführt worden.) In diesem noch ungedruckten Stück geht es um die Entlarvung der Scheinhaftigkeit der Welt,⁴¹ wofür alle Potenzen der Komik im weitesten Sinne mobilisiert werden: Witz, spielerische Verkehrung der Verhältnisse, Täuschung, Entlarvung der allgemeinen 'insania' und tiefsinnige Ironie. Im 'Proludium' tritt ein griechisches Philosophenpaar auf, das den christlichen Humanisten immer willkommen war und sozusagen eingeleuchtet hat: Heraklit, der über den absurden Lauf der Welt nur noch weint, und Demokrit, der aus demselben Grund nur noch lacht.⁴² Dazu kommen zwei dämonische Figuren, Pseudolus und der

⁴⁰ Näheres dazu bei F. Rädle, 'Über mittelalterliche lyrische Formen im neulateinischen Drama', in *Litterae medii aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth*, hg. v. M. Borgolte und H. Spilling (Sigmaringen, 1988), S. 349.

⁴¹ Clm 26017, fol. 49^r-102^r; vgl. dazu vorläufig: Georg Bernardt SJ, *Dramen 1: Theophilus Cilix (1621)*. Ein Faust-Drama der Jesuiten. Lateinisch u. deutsch hg., übers. u. komm. v. F. Rädle, Geistliche Literatur der Barockzeit, 5 (Amsterdam & Maarssen, 1984), Ss. 201-204.

⁴² Vgl. A. Buck, 'Democritus ridens et Heraclitus flens', in Ders., *Die humanistische Tradition in der Romania* (Bad Homburg v. d. H. - Berlin - Zürich, 1968), Nr. 7, Ss. 101-117; Th. Rütten, *Demokrit — lachender Philosoph und sanguinischer Melancholiker* (Leiden, 1992).

veritable Teufel Turbilo. Ihr Auftritt, der zugleich den vitalen (und schwierigen!) Sprachwitz des Autors wie die intellektuelle Universalität — um nicht zu sagen: Abgründigkeit — von Komik manifestiert, soll den Abschluß dieses Beitrags bilden.

PROLUDIUM

PSEUDOLUS, DEMOCRITUS, HERACLITUS

PSEUDOLUS: Tandem igitur! Uter vestrum histrioniam hodie dabit? Lepidos agyrtas! Tu, tu, mimice profecto! Nec ego sane fabulam ordiar. Scabra nimis et pertusa nola sum, ut primus hic tinniam. Sed sultis momento prodibo venustulus: Catastula haec mea omnes Veneres et Iulos habet, fungos quoslibet potens extemplo Hiacynthulos creassere. Mentior? Durate pauxillum, et valide vobis imponam dolis maxime inficetis, insulsis maxime, et tamen imponam et modis dementabo insanis!

DEMOCRITUS: Nugae, nugae! Ineptiae ineptissimae!

HERACLITUS: Miseriae miserabiles! Calamitates calamitosissimae!

DEMOCRITUS: Ita ridicule orbis delirat!

HERACLITUS: Ita tragice affligitur!

DEMOCRITUS: Quae non sibi cudit fornicaria, quot in negotioso cerebellulo muscaria!

HERACLITUS: Nascitur, interit — interit, nascitur in funera identidem redi-vivus! Vertiginosum ludibrium! Et tamen...

DEMOCRITUS: Et tamen, nugae, nugae nugacissimae, et tamen circumspicit se purulenta sanies caeno suo, stercora mendicat, fulvam et tralucidam terrae salivam lambit, lubricat salebrosam petiginem suam, et qui non est, esse affectat improbissime.

HERACLITUS: O caecas hominum mentes! Intus, intus latet, quod divinum est! Nisi virtute animum colas, quantumvis foris splendeas, latronem squalidum, hispidum specioso claudis carcere.

PSEUDOLUS: Iam prodeoque: quaeso tantisper ingenium meum dissimulate, fabre vos circumveniam!

DEMOCRITUS: Superi, quantae in humanis nebulae! Nec sapit, nec credit orbis, tot sycophantas alit, tot moriones, personatos omnes, cannabi multos, plures serico!

HERACLITUS: Quam suavem sibi cudunt interitum! Et tamen...

DEMOCRITUS: Insania est!

PSEUDOLUS: Iam prodeoque, viri eruditionis et generis nobilitate spectatissimi, nunquid pectus vobis micat? Nunquid lumbus scalpitur? Haud dubie dolus non patet, quod ego, Thressis Lavemio cum sim, vobis me Hectorem aliquem venditem! Quaeso vos, sinite benigne vos ludificarier! Pol non sum ille, qui fui, non sum mucidus, luridus et circumforaneus rabula. Fui, sed non sum, aedepol, non sum: vestibus credite! Nugae, nugae, nugae, nugae! etc.⁴³

⁴³ Clm 26017, fol. 49^r-50^r.

Die 2. Szene des ersten Akts besteht aus einem Dialog zwischen zwei 'Söhnen der Nacht' und 'Abgesandten der Hölle' ('noctis filii', 'Orci legati'), dem vertrottelten 'Sathan vetulus' und einem cleveren Jungeufel ('Turbilo iuvenis'). Sie führen wortreich und witzig einen «Generationenkonflikt» unter Teufeln vor; am Schluß schickt Turbilo die 'gute, einfältige Kreatur aus dem Alten Testament', die in der raffinierten Neuzeit nichts mehr ausrichten wird, zurück in die Hölle zu seinem Großvater⁴⁴ und widmet sich selber der Aufgabe, den stolzen König Jovianus zu Fall zu bringen. In einer Ansprache an das Publikum stellt er sich vor und schildert seine listigen Methoden:⁴⁵

Ego Turbilo sum, noctis ex Plutone filius, mali corvi pessimum ovum. Ibo iam et quietem regiae in vertiginem dabo. Sed non irruam igneus, hamatus, bisulcus et minotaurus cornupeta, nec dicam obviis passim pro cane: 'fure, percute, seca, iugula!' Haec nimis plebeia est insania, emunc-tum hoc saeculum hos diabolos despuit.

Si quos mollicellos et comptulos reperero, ego illis Narcissulus et Adonis ero. Quidquid loquar, quidquid agam, quidquid tuear, quidquid gradiar, Venus erit.... Sin ego in devotulos illos offensabo capitipendulos, precum vocabularia et sanctorum lexica, ad manus hi noduli,⁴⁶ in ore suspiria, in oculis lacrimae et in toto diabolo devotio. Si in graves illas ansatas et ventricosas amphoras, verborum trutinas, illam, inquam, oculorum et frontium maiestatem, tum ego grandem grandibo gradum⁴⁷ verbis paratragediatu et oculis. Sin denique in suaviludiones, vulpeculas, verborum et gestuum promptuaria, illos cortesiparolavendulos,⁴⁸ tum ego: 'di vostra Signoria devotissimo servitore' etc.. Et sic ego omnibus omnia fiam, ut omnes lucrificiam.'⁴⁹

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⁴⁴ TURBILLO: 'Mi vetule, tu una bona simplex creatura ex veteri Testamento. hoc saeculum tibi nasum uno stadio protenderet; recipe grallam et redi ad avum et proavum tuum et ibi parumper elixemini. Turbilo bene curabit regiam.' (fol. 53^v)

⁴⁵ Clm 26017, fol. 53^v-54^r.

⁴⁶ Turbilo trägt einen Rosenkranz bei sich.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Plautus, *Aulularia*, 49.

⁴⁸ Die recht unzuverlässige Handschrift hat hier 'cordesi parola vendulos'.

⁴⁹ Hier wird Paulus (VULG., I *Cor* 9, 22) parodiert: 'omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes facerem salvos.'

Chris L. HEESAKKERS

AN LIPSIO LICUIT ET
CUNAE QUOD MIHI NON LICET?

Petrus Francius and Oratorical Delivery in the
Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre*

1. THE COLLEGIUM ORATORIUM AT LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

On 8 February 1575 the first university in the Northern Netherlands opened its doors in Leiden with an impressive ceremony under the inspiring direction of the former commander of the town, Janus Dousa, and the town's secretary Jan van Hout. The celebration was the pinnacle of only six weeks of preparation for the foundation. It is, therefore, not very surprising that after this festive inauguration academic activity became practically invisible. The hastily acquired one-day professors returned to their daily professions and the students had not yet arrived. The first tangible proof of the existence of the new institute was the publication, probably at the end of April, of a splendid collection of poems about the events preceding the foundation, that is, the famous second siege of the town from May until October 1574 and its relief, and about the foundation itself, which some historians have considered an award for the courage of the town's citizens during the siege. This poetry, written by Janus Dousa and his friend Hadrianus Junius, was, so the title-page announced, "printed in our new university of Leiden", and financed by the town's above mentioned secretary.¹ From this moment on the existence of the university was an undeniable fact within the Republic of Letters. Nevertheless, the beginnings of the young institute were difficult and the first years were not very promising. In April 1578, however, Dousa succeeded in enlisting a celebrity into the university's staff, the filologist of European fame, Justus Lipsius. Lipsius, who had

* I am indebted to Atmo Carlisle (Amsterdam) for the correction of the English.

¹ *Iani Ducae Nordovicis Nova poemata. Quorum Catalogum altera ab hac pagina indicabit. Item Hadriani Iunii Carminum Lugdunensium Sylva. In nova academia nostra Lugdunensi excusum. Anno 1575. Impensis Ioannis Hauteni.*

acquired professional experience as a professor at Jena University, was soon elected Rector magnificus and took some measures which gave the university a more professional look. So he introduced the regular registration of the students in an official matriculation book. He did much to improve the quality of the teaching and one of his own specific contributions to this was the opening of what he called a 'collegium oratorium', that is, practical exercises in oratorical delivery.

1.1. Justus Lipsius' Collegium oratorium (c. 1588)

Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) probably started his 'Collegium oratorium' about ten years after his arrival in Leiden, in the late 1580's. Unfortunately, we do not know whether he did this at the instigation of the board of the university, that is, the assembly of the three Curators of the university and the four Burgomasters of the town of Leiden, nor if he did so with or without their explicit consent.² Nor do we know much about the way it functioned. Its existence is mentioned a few times in contemporary epistolography and poetry. In a letter to Theodorus Canter, October 1588, Lipsius promised to enroll the latter's sons in the 'collegium oratorium', which, he explained, he had founded to exercise students in rhetorical practice.³ In a letter to Cornelis Aerssens, January 1591, he was positive that Aerssens' son would benefit from going to the collegium.⁴ Another pupil we know by name is Joannes Hemelaers, who reminded Lipsius that he had taken part in the exercises, shortly before Lipsius himself was finally to leave Leiden university.⁵

² I have not come across any traces of it in the records of the university, nor in the useful clues to these records, P. C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, I-VII ('s-Gravenhage, 1913-1924) and H. J. Witkam, *De dagelijkse zaken van de Leidse universiteit van 1581 tot 1596* (Leiden, 1970-1975).

³ *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* III, ed. S. Sué and H. Peeters (Brussel, 1987), p. 137, letter no. 656 (88 10 10): "collegium oratorium quod hic institui ad exercitia". This collegium has nothing to do with the Paedagogium or the Collegium Theologicum and the annotation relating to the passage quoted is not relevant.

⁴ G. Delprat, *Lettres inédites de Juste Lipse concernant ses relations avec les hommes d'Etat des Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas principalement pendant les années 1580-1597* (Amsterdam, 1858), p. 56 (letter 1591 01 21): "filium tuum in Collegium oratorium venire prorsus mihi ex usu eius videtur".

⁵ P. Burmannus, *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi V* (Leiden 1727), I, 84 (letter 1591 06 18): "Agnosces igitur me ex discipulis esse tuis unum et sub te Rhetoricis exercitiis non multo tempore ante tuum Lugduno nostro discessum aliquando vacasse". Lipsius left Leiden in March 1591.

However, the most extensive information about the collegium we owe to young Janus Dousa, the son of Lipsius' great friend, the first curator and librarian of the university, Janus Dousa Pater. Dousa Filius left us a poem he had written when, on behalf of the Collegium, he had to present his teacher a laurel wreath.⁶ Another of his poems seems to imply that the collegium was located in the house of the printer and professor of Hebrew, Franciscus Raphelengius, since the latter was honoured for his hospitality with a painting of Hercules after one of the sessions. This time again, it appears to be Dousa's task to deliver the gift, since he wrote and probably recited the text that accompanied the handing-over of the painting: "To Fr. Raphelengius the Father, when, on behalf of the collegium, he was offered a panel on which a Hercules Gallicus was painted".⁷ Another trace of young Dousa's active participation in the exercises, which also confirms the location of the Collegium in Raphelengius' house, is found in the catalogue of the second auction of the library of the philologist Petrus Scriverius, held in Amsterdam, August 1663. No. 89 of this catalogue mentions: "Two orations on thunder and on lightning held by Janus Dousa in the collegium oratorium that was founded by Lipsius in the house of Raphelengius".⁸

Soon after Lipsius' departure from Leiden, March 1591, the enthusiasm for rhetorical practice seems to have faded away, notwithstanding the

⁶ J. Dousa Filius, *Poemata*, ed. Guil. Rabus (Rotterdam, 1704), p. 203: "Ad J. Lipsium, quum ei J. Dousa F. Collegii Oratorii nomine coronam Lauream offerret". The text runs as follows:

Lipsi, quem alumnum vindicemque Musarum
Virens corona perpeti beat Fama,
Cape hanc corollam, quam tibi recens tortam
Antistiti omnis elegantiae priscae,
Lubens volensque debitum offero munus.
Tu floriferti hoc macte messe cum Sacris,
Velisque nobis Divus esse Robigo.
O semper usurpande mentibus nostris

Absens, ut oculis quondam et auribus praesens.

⁷ J. Dousa Filius, *Poemata*, ed. Guil. Rabus (Rotterdam, 1704), p. 203-204: "Ad Fr. Raphelengium, quum Collegii nomine eidem Tabula Herculem Gallicum depictum repraesentans offerretur".

⁸ *Libri appendiciarii Bibliothecae Scriverianae, quae auctio publica distrib. 8 Aug. 1663* (Amsterdam, 1663), No. 89: "Jani Dousae... orationes duae de tonitru et fulgure habitae in collegio oratorio quod Lugduni in aedibus Raphelengii instituerat Lipsius", quoted by E. van Gulik, 'Drukkers en geleerden. De Leidse Officina Plantiniana (1583-1619)', in *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of Learning*, ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer — G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1975), pp. 367-393 (p. 390, n. 55).

presence of a special professor of rhetoric since 1588. The reason might have been, that this professor, Henricus Bredius (†1621), who never seems to have published anything, was obviously not a great teacher or scholar.

1.2. Petrus Cunaeus' Collegium oratorium (1620)

According to the records of the university, it was the students who asked for lessons in rhetorical practice in 1620, that is, asked for a 'Collegium oratorium' to be set up. The Board of Curators and Burgomasters granted the request on 10 August with the appointment of a head of these rhetorical exercises. This was not the old professor of rhetoric, Bredius, but the young professor of Latin and Law, Petrus Cunaeus (1586-1638).⁹ Rector and Professors were ordered to recommend the exercises to the students and to publicize them by means of an official programme, "publico programme".¹⁰ Cunaeus was ordered to prepare himself to open the institution with a public oration.¹¹ On 12 October the Board sent for Cunaeus to ask him if he was ready with the preparation of his oration. Cunaeus confessed to needing some more time, but four weeks later, on 10 November he opened his new institution with the oration entitled "Exercitationum oratoriarum, quae auctoritate publica in Academia Leydensi institutae sunt, inauguratio, Academiae Curatorum et Urbis Consulum mandatu facta".¹² On the 'dies Natalis' of the university, 8 February 1621 the Board decided on the salary of the director, which was to be 300 guilders annually. Moreover, the Curators and Burgomasters granted Cunaeus a gift of 36 guilders for dedicating them his printed oration.¹³

⁹ Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms AC 21, fol. lxxv: The Curators and Burgermasters, "verstaende dat verscheijden studenten trachtende sich in eloquentiae studio te oeffenen versochten een collegium oratorium privato publicum opgerecht te werden, hebben versocht ende oock bewilligt D. Petrum Cunaem Iuris professorem om de directie vantt voorsz collegie te hebben"; cf. P. C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, II ('s-Gravenhage, 1916), p. 95; E. Bronchorstius, *Diarium*, ed. J. C. van Slee, ('s-Gravenhage, 1898), p. 158, at 10 November 1620: "Habuit orationem P. Cunaeus de Laudibus eloquentiae. Curatores illi mandarunt potestatem instituendi collegium oratorium et decreverunt ut in eo studiosos habendis orationibus instrueret et exerceat".

¹⁰ Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms AC 21, fol. lxxv, and fol. lxxxiii, where the official decree, dated 14 October 1620, is found.

¹¹ Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms AC 21, fol. lxxv: "publicque declamatie dese exercitationes oratorias sal inaugureren".

¹² First edition Leiden 1621.

¹³ Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms AC 21, fol. xciii; cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen* II, 101.

However, we know next to nothing about the daily practice of Cunaeus' exercises. It is possible that systematic investigation of Cunaeus' correspondence might yield more information. In the funeral oration for Cunaeus, Adolfus Vorstius restricted himself to a rather general remark. After having praised Cunaeus' oratorical gifts, he went on to say: "Therefore, for many years, and as far as his more serious responsibilities and functions permitted, he lead the way to the glory of true eloquence with official authorisation for the benefit of the noble youth".¹⁴

1.3. Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius' Collegium oratorium (1636)

In the 1620's, Cunaeus had become an outstanding professor and an important jurist who was often consulted by governmental institutions in The Hague. This may explain why his activities as the director of the rhetorical exercises soon had to give way to "the more serious responsibilities and functions" mentioned by Vorstius, and therefore declined and finally completely stopped. Two years before his death, continues Vorstius, the Board relieved him from his position and appointed Marcus Boxhornius as his successor.¹⁵

According to the records of the Curators, the initiative for this appointment came from Boxhornius himself. In 1632, Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius (1612-1653) received permission to teach Eloquence for one year. In 1633, he became an extraordinarius professor of Eloquence. In August 1636, he approached the Curators and Burgomasters with the request, "to be charged with the direction of a 'Collegium oratorium publicum', in which students could have the opportunity to exercise themselves in the public delivery of speeches within the university".¹⁶

¹⁴ A. Vorstius, *Oratio funebris in obitum Petri Cunaei* (Leiden, 1639), quoted after: P. Cunaeus, *Orationes*, ed. C. Cellarius (Leipzig, 1735), p. 580-1: "Hinc multos per annos, et quamdiu per graviores curas ac functiones licuit, juventuti generosae, ex publica autoritate, ad verae eloquentiae laudem viam praeivit".

¹⁵ Vorstius, *Oratio*, p. 581: "A quo onere Curatorum ac Consulum humanitas, jam ultra biennium est, quod eum absolverit; relicto tamen laboris praeteriti eodem illi praemio, ac muneris ejusdem functione translata in clarissimum, et rei inprimis idoneum, Marcum Boxhornium" (More than two years ago, the Curators and Burgomasters kindly relieved him from his responsibilities but continued to pay him the salary he had received in the past for his work, and transferred his position to the illustrious Marcus Boxhornius, who was well equipped for this task).

¹⁶ Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms AC 21, fol. ccix: They comply with "het versoeck vanden selven Boxhornius gedaen om vereert te werden met de directie van een collegium Oratorium publicum, in t welck de Studenten sich souden oefenen met openbaerlick inde Academie te peroreren".

In the official decree, the Board asked the Rector and the Senate to arrange a suitable room for the exercises and to publicize them by means of an official programme, "publico programme".¹⁷ This sounds very much like an echo of Cunaeus' appointment in 1620. At the same time, this text suggests that in 1636 Cunaeus' institution had ceased to exist for some years, for otherwise the request of Boxhornius, then only twenty four years old, would have been quite disloyal, imprudent and inopportune. Moreover, the local arrangements for these exercises would still have existed.

Unfortunately, apart from the inaugural oration "De maiestate Eloquentiae Romanae", delivered in the university when he was created head of the collegium,¹⁸ once more no further information about the exercises Boxhornius organised and presided over, seems available. A later step, however, taken in 1643 by Boxhornius, who in the meantime had become ordinarius professor of Eloquence, seems to be in line with his former initiative. This time, he asked the University Board, at the request of Dutch and foreign students, for permission to organise public disputations within the faculty of Politica. In 1648, Boxhornius exchanged his chair of Eloquence for the most prestigious chair of History, which implied that he had to stop his teaching of Eloquence.¹⁹

1.4. The disappointing results of the Leiden Collegia oratoria

One gets the impression, that the initial attempts and enthusiasm of both Cunaeus and Boxhornius to introduce oratorical delivery into the discipline of Eloquence soon floundered. This impression is confirmed by a document about the decline of academic teaching during the following decades, drawn up by the Rector and the Senate on 23 March 1670. The document points to earlier attempts to improve the teaching, remarking that Curators and Burgomasters "had already instituted a 'Collegium exercitationum oratoriarum' in 1620 for this purpose under the supervision and the directorship of the late Professor Cunaeus. The

¹⁷ Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms AC 21, fol. ccix^v; the exercises are called "declamation ofte oration".

¹⁸ M. Z. Boxhornius, *Oratio inauguralis De maiestate Eloquentiae Romanae. Habita in Academia Batavorum, cum Collegij Oratorum publici Praeses creatus esset* (Leiden, 1636).

¹⁹ H. Wansink, *Politieke wetenschappen aan de Leidse universiteit 1575-1650* (Utrecht, 1981), p. 94, states that Boxhornius continued to be the director of the collegium oratorium, but as far as I can see he gives no references for this statement.

latter, to kindle enthusiasm for these exercises in the students, delivered a splendid oration, which thanks to its being printed has come into everybody's hands and contains many subjects which pertain to the problems in question. Nevertheless, in spite of all his efforts, he was not able to achieve much, even though in those days the students were much better equipped for such activities, stayed at the academy for a longer period than nowadays, and had themselves asked for such exercises. Later the same attempts of Mr Boxhornius had similar results".²⁰

The absence of rhetorical practice in the decade before the document quoted, in the 1660's, is explained in an explicit statement of a former student. This student matriculated in Leiden in August 1662 and remained there until about 1668. Looking back at the academic education he had received, he later stated "that the whole practice of oratorical delivery had fallen into disuse and as far as I remember, no orations at all were delivered in Leiden during the period I studied there".²¹ Referring to the Leiden 'Collegium oratorium' in the same context, he mentioned Lipsius and Cunaeus by name, but completely overlooked Boxhornius.²² So, the fame of the latter's oratorical exercises in Leiden was even shorter lived than that of his predecessors.

What Cunaeus and Boxhornius failed to achieve in Leiden, this same student went on to accomplish in Amsterdam with great éclat.

2. THE ATHENAEUM ILLUSTRÉ OF AMSTERDAM

In 1631 the University of Leiden was unpleasantly surprised to hear that another academic seat of learning was to be set up within the

²⁰ Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms ASF 295, fol. 109-110, published in Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, III, 1918, p. 229*-230*: (fol. 110 and p. 230*) The Curators and Burgomasters "hebben al in den iaere 1620 gelijck desseyen gehadt tot dien eynde instituerende een collegium exercitationum oratoriarum onder de opsicht ende directie van wijlent d'heer Professor Cunaeus, die omme de studenten daer toe te animeren heeft gedaen een treffelicke oratie, die door den druck in ieders handen is gecoomen, in de welcke vele dyngen tot het tegenwoordich subiect dienende occurreren. Maer heeft de selve ende alle sijnen arbeit weynich te wege kunnen brengen; hoewel in die tijt de studenten daer toe bequamer waeren, langer op de Academie bleven, als sy tegenwoordich doen, ende selff soodanige exercitien versoght hadden. Het welck naderhandt by D. Boxhornio is getenteert met gelijck succes".

²¹ Francius, *Orationes* 1705, p. 415: "Rem omnem in desuetudinem abiisse constat, nec ullas esse Leidae orationes habitas memini quando ego illic studiorum gratia fui".

²² Francius, *Orationes* 1705, p. 408: "An in Academia proxima Lipsio licuit et Cunaeo, quod in hoc mihi Atheneo non licet?" (Should what has been permitted Lipsius and Cunaeus in the nearby university, be prohibited to me in this Athenaeum?).

Province of Holland. Furthermore the increasingly flourishing city of Amsterdam was becoming the cultural and literary metropolis, not only of Holland, but also of the whole Republic of the United Provinces. In 1617 Samuel Coster had already founded his 'Neerlandtsch Academie', or 'Duytsche Academie', where both dramatic performances and other cultural and academic events were to take place, not in Latin however, but in Dutch. This had been a private initiative. In 1631 the local government of Amsterdam itself decided to found an institute for elementary academic instruction, a so-called 'Athenaeum Illustre'. The Leiden University vehemently opposed the foundation of such an institute, claiming a monopoly on academic teaching within the Province of Holland. Amsterdam, however, successfully carried out its plan²³. For Leiden the pill was even more bitter, because the Athenaeum started its lessons with two former Leiden professors. One of them, Caspar Barlaeus (1584-1648), had been dismissed as a professor in 1620, after the Synod of Dordrecht, and was free to go where he wanted. The other, however, Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649), was one of Leiden's outstanding professors when he was enticed to exchange the university for the Athenaeum, not in the least because of the generous salary Amsterdam had offered him. Vossius opened the Athenaeum with his oration *De historiae utilitate* on 8 January 1632, and Barlaeus delivered his well known oration *Mercator sapiens* the next day.

Initially, the disciplines History and Politica were taught by Vossius and Philosophy was taught by Barlaeus. Soon other disciplines were added with varying success. After the death of the pioneers Barlaeus and Vossius in the late 1640's, however, the Athenaeum was not very succesfull in finding new professors. Nevertheless, according to a monograph about the history of Amsterdam, the programme numbered six disciplines in 1663, one of them being Eloquence. Its chair was occupied by Robertus Keuchenius, who had permission to teach eloquence in 1661 and delivered an oration *De Fato eloquentiae Romanae* in 1666 but soon afterwards disappeared from Amsterdam. In 1668 M. Meiboom was charged with the teaching of History, Letters and Eloquence, but in 1670 he was dismissed. Abraham Faber took over, but obviously not with great success. An oration "On the study of Eloquence", was delivered on 14 March 1672, not however by Faber, but by a young

²³ Cf. C. L. Heesakkers, 'Foundation and Early Development of the Athenaeum Illustre at Amsterdam', *Lias*, 9 (1982), 3-18.

citizen, Petrus Francius. Due to the confused political circumstances of the time, this oratorical début did not result in his appointment as a professor at the Athenaeum. Faber was not moved to the vacant chair of Jurisprudence until 1674 when the teaching of Eloquence was officially handed over to Francius.

3. PETRUS FRANCIOUS AND RHETORICAL PRACTICE IN THE AMSTERDAM ATHENAEUM ILLUSTRÉ

Notwithstanding an extensive collection of Latin poetry and oratory, Petrus Francius (1645-1704) does not enjoy a great deal of attention in the field of Neo-Latin studies. He was born too late to be included in the *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des Anciens Pays-Bas*, which stops at about 1650. His name appears in the first edition of IJsewijn's *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, but disappeared in the second edition.²⁴ So a concise biographical overview may be useful.²⁵

3.1. Francius' schooling

Born in Amsterdam, Francius was sent to the local Latin School, headed by the popular rector Adrianus Junius at that time. It was this "most worthy school principal, the best one this city ever has had or ever will have",²⁶ who directed Francius' main attention to the poetical work of Ovid. After his years at the Latin School, Francius matriculated at Leiden university in August 1662. Jacobus Fredericus Gronovius (1611-1671), professor of Greek and History, became his most influential teacher. In 1667 Francius published his first poetry, a small epic on Peace, *Carmen De Pace*. On 10 January 1668, the Grand Duke of Florence, Cosimo de' Medici, paid a visit to the university, where

²⁴ *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des Anciens Pays-Bas*, ed. A. Gerlo - H. D. L. Vervliet (Bruxelles, 1972); *idem*, *Supplément 1970-1985*, ed. M. De Schepper, avec la coll. de C. L. Heesakkers (Bruxelles, 1988); J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam - New York - Oxford, 1977), p. 125; the same work, Part I, second entirely rewritten edition (Leuven, 1990).

²⁵ For more details and references and for a bibliography of Francius' works, see C. L. Heesakkers, 'De hoogleraar in de Welsprekendheid Petrus Francius (1645-1704)', in *Athenaeum Illustré*, eds. Haitsma Mulier *et alii* (Amsterdam, 1997, forthcoming).

²⁶ Cf. Francius, *Posthuma* 1706, *Oratio Pro Eloquentia*, p. 67: "Adrianus Junius, urbis huius Gymnasiarcha dignissimus; quo meliorem nec habuit unquam haec civitas, nec habebit".

he was welcomed with a polished Latin oration by Gronovius. After the session, leaflets with poems of others were distributed. Among the authors, we find Nicolas Heinsius, Cosimo's guide around the University buildings, and the student Francius. These poems were, of course, incorporated in the printed edition of Gronovius' oration of the same year.

The following year Francius started his Grand Tour. We hear about plans to travel to England, but probably these plans were changed. The first letters from abroad came from Paris, where Francius met with the Jesuit and poet Renatus Rapinus. In Angers he received his doctor's degree. In June 1670 he arrived in Geneva and in the period November 1670 to March 1671 his letters come from Rome. During his stay at Naples, it is said, he paid a visit to the tomb of Virgil, and gathered leaves from the laurel on top of it, to carry back as presents for his friends in Holland. Passing through Florence, he was warmly received by Grand Duke Cosimo, and introduced to the famous librarian, Antonio Magliabechi. Some time before July 1671, Francius returned to Amsterdam. As far as regards his literary studies, Francius later declared, that he had spent the whole triennium of his travel immersed in reading Virgil and, later on, Horace.²⁷

3.2. Francius' professorship and his public deliveries

As we have seen, Francius somehow started his career at the Athenaeum in March 1672, without yet being officially appointed as a teacher, with the delivery of an oration on the study of eloquence, *De studio Eloquentiae*. This first public appearance was to be followed by an impressive number of similar performances. Within thirty-two years Francius delivered a total of at least fifty orations in prose or pieces of heroic or elegiac poetry, or even a combination of both. A few of the orations were in Greek. Usually the venue was the great lecture-hall in the Athenaeum, but his most solemn performances were part of celebrations held in the New Church. A list of these performances is included in the Appendix at the end of this contribution.

On 20 March 1674, before his appointment as a professor, Francius celebrated the recent peace treaty with England of 19 February with the delivery of his heroic poem *Irenicon*. Two days later the municipality

²⁷ *Saeculum Aureum*, Amsterdam 1689, Francius Lectori.

decided on his appointment for the chair of History. The recitation of the *Irenicon* was a valid excuse not to deliver an inaugural lecture; instead Francius prepared an oration *De historiae utilitate* (On the utility of History), to serve as the opening lecture of his course on Livy on 20 April. The title sounded familiar to the Amsterdam audience, for Vossius had used it for his oration during the opening ceremony of the Athenaeum in 1632.

A highlight in Francius' career as an orator was his part in the funeral celebrations of Holland's most famous sea hero, Michiel de Ruyter, who fell in April 1676 in a naval battle off the coast of Sicily near Mount Etna. The hero's body was carried to Holland and it arrived in Amsterdam in February 1677. The entombment took place on 18 March in the New Church, where Ludovicus Wolzogen, professor of Church History at the Athenaeum, delivered the funeral sermon. The next day a second ceremony followed in a packed New Church. Part of the audience were the representatives of the town, the province of Holland, the States General and the personal representative of the stadtholder William III of Orange, the courtier and poet Constantine Huygens. The most substantial part of this ceremony was the delivery of a Latin 'epicedium' of more than a thousand lines by Francius, standing in front of the tomb. It is said, that the commander in charge, the soldier and Latin poet Broukhusius, addressed the visitors at the door of the church in Latin because of the overcrowding and refused entrance to those who did not give an acceptable response and proved not to understand this language. The epicedium was soon published both in Latin and in a Dutch translation.

3.3. *Eloquentia Exterior*: oratorical presentations by his students

In 1686 Francius' function was enlarged with the teaching of Greek. He opened his course in Greek with an oration on the usefulness and eminence of this language, "*De usu et praestantia linguae Graecae*". It was his first oration after a break from oratorical delivery of exactly six years. In the autumn of the same year, Francius started a series of three declamations of heroic poetry he had written about important military events in Europe. The series closed with a fourth poem in May 1687, and after being published separately, the poems were gathered together in a new publication, *Laurus Europea*. In this booklet, Francius enlarged the poetry with a concise commentary in his own hand.

3.3.1. Cicero's orations recited

With four more declamations, the year 1687 was a climax for Francius' oratorical delivery. Moreover, these declamations add to our understanding of Francius' teaching of rhetorical practice. Ten years earlier, in 1677, in his oration about combining the study of literature with that of eloquence, *De conjungendo Litterarum et Eloquentiae Studio*, Francius had defended the need for exercising practical oratory. Obviously his students had to learn orations from Latin antiquity by heart and to publicly recite them. Francius admitted that this method had met with criticism, but was firmly convinced of its use to develop rhetorical talents. Within a short time, he promised, some of his students would give public proofs of the progress they had already made and of the skill they had acquired.²⁸

Ten years later, in 1687, Francius was more explicit about his method. It had been his conviction that his students, memorizing Cicero's orations, would at the same time acquire some of the latter's stylistic qualities. This would automatically lead them to compose their own orations in the long run. Francius, however, confessed after all that he had been disappointed in as far as his students had never dared to take the step from presenting Ciceronian orations to reciting orations composed by themselves. That was the reason why he had stopped the public presentations in the Athenaeum and veiled himself in silence, although his students continued to work on their presentations privately. Subsequently, however, a student from Leiden who was spending his holidays in Amsterdam, uttered a wish to practice oratory under Francius' direction and a few other students joined him. So Francius finally had the opportunity to start a 'Collegium oratorium' once more.²⁹

²⁸ *Orationes 1705*, pp. 35-64 (p. 35): "Cumque jam discipulorum meorum nonnulli annum unum aut alterum hisce studiis invigilare atque incumbere pergant, nec contemnendos in iis progressus fecerint, jamque aliquod vobis documentum laborum suorum, et publicum industriae suae specimen sint edituri..."; p. 60 Francius' reply to his critics.

²⁹ 1687 06 09, *Orationes 1705*, p. 141: "Quod ante annos complures... factum sane oportuit et factum jam pridem fuisset, nisi Discipulorum meorum pudore dicam an diffidentia generosum hoc meum propositum fuisset interpellatum, id novo me ardore aggressum et hodierno, ut spero, die confectum videbitis"; pp. 144-145: "Venit hic ad me Juvenis nuper, feriis Canicularibus proximis. Exercere sese, dum feriae essent, et Leida sine incommodo abesse posset, in studio Oratorio petiit. Honestissimae ejus petitioni deesse non potui, et operam illi promisi meam. Adjunxit se illico unus et alter, et Oratorium inde conflatum Collegium est. Exercui eos privatim, exercui hoc ipso in loco. Quid profecerimus, vos judicatis".

3.3.2. A favourite text: Cicero's *Pro Archia*

Unfortunately Francius does not tell us which orations were presented on 9 June 1687. Soon, however, other presentations were to follow. On 10 July the professor mounted the platform — with some hesitation, he confessed, for it was his sixth recitation within the year's course — to introduce the declamation of Cicero's orations *Pro Archia* and *Pro Marcello*. Obviously, the ceremony was well received by the public; all the more reason for Francius to open his next course with the presentation of the same orations, be it in the reverse order. Since the students were still too young and inexperienced in the art of writing, the 'Eloquentia Interna', Francius had them practice the art of presenting an oration, the 'Eloquentia Exterior'. The 'Dictio' and 'Oratio' of what was to be presented, were Cicero's, but the 'Actio' and 'Pronuntiatio' were the students' own. Incidentally, learning by heart and the presentation of Cicero's most perfect Latin *ipso facto* contributed to the acquisition of a good 'Dictio'³⁰.

It is not surprising that Francius, who had already presented himself several times as a versatile Latin poet, showed a preference for Cicero's oration in defence of the Roman poet Archias. Moreover, Cicero had made a flattering remark about his friend, the actor Roscius in this oration and Francius as an orator obviously felt great affinity with the art of acting. Actually, he considered an Amsterdam actor, Adam Karelz, together with Adrianus Junius mentioned above, as his absolute masters in the art of oratory, for Karelz had been for him what Roscius had been for Cicero.³¹ It is no wonder, therefore, that the *Pro Archia* was to turn up in Francius' teaching in several forms and disguises. In March 1689, Francius delivered a short oration to introduce a series of presentations of the *Pro Archia* by several students on various days. According to this oration, students save time by listening to each other's deliveries, for this helps them in memorizing their text. Within a short time, however, they were going on to memorize other orations too. Francius added, that he did not expect a large audience at these public performances.³²

³⁰ 1687 07 10, *Orationes 1705*, p. 153: "Duplex est enim ac genuinus nostri hujus exercitii fructus, cum verba Ciceronis ediscendo, recitando, et dictionem ejus pariter imbibant, et ad illius se Actionem interim Pronuntiationemque componant".

³¹ For Francius and theatre in Amsterdam, see C. L. Heesakkers, 'Petrus Francius en het toneel' in *Kort Tijt-verdrieff. Opstellen over Nederlands toneel (vanaf ca 1550) aangeboden aan Mieke B. Smits-Veldt*, ed. W. Abrahamse, A. C. G. Fleurkens, M. Meijer Drees (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 243-250.

³² 1689 03 14, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 175-7 (p. 176).

A rather surprising manifestation took place on Christmas' Eve 1692. To prepare his audience, Francius explained that eloquence was not limited to the Latin or Greek language. The Athenaeum happened to have a young French student within its walls and Francius happened to have a recent translation of the *Pro Archia* at his disposal, made by a famous French orator, a member of the Parlement of Paris. The audience knew that Francius was averse to innovations, but now he wanted to take advantage of this happy coincidence to confront his students with the proprieties of pronunciation in the various languages.³³

Still more surprising, if not for the contemporary public, then at least for us, is the session of June following year, for this time Francius addressed his audience not in Latin, but in Greek, to announce another presentation of the combined orations *Pro Archia* and *Pro Marcello*. Francius informed the audience that the presentation of the orations was to be in Greek, just as a recent presentation of Ovidian texts had been, for the students involved had themselves translated Cicero's texts into fairly acceptable Greek.³⁴

Five years later, Francius confessed that his audience might be astonished that he dared to present the *Pro Archia*, "already so many times performed", once again. Those people, however, Francius went on, who had read his recent publication of the oration with his commentary — we will come back to that — would understand his choice. At the end of his own oration, Francius added that the declamants were novices, and some of them had only recently entered the Athenaeum and therefore merited particular consideration from the audience. Francius came back to this argument, when he closed the series of declamations which had lasted almost four weeks. He reiterated that some participants had arrived after Easter or after Quinquagesima. The last speaker had even less than a month to memorize the text, but had nevertheless greatly satisfied his teacher. In conclusion, Francius announced that the students would soon present orations written by themselves.³⁵

³³ 1692 12 24, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 336-43 (p. 337).

³⁴ 1693 06 01/02, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 344-6; p. 345 informs us, that the translation was made by the students. For the presentation of Ovid in Greek, see below 3. 3. 5.

³⁵ 1698 06 18, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 433-6 (p. 433 and p. 435); 1698 07 14, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 437-439 (p. 438 and p. 439).

3.3.3. Presentations of other Ciceronian orations

As we have already seen, in addition to the *Pro Archia* the *Pro Marcello* had also been presented twice, when Francius continued with his rhetorical practice which he had begun in July 1687. Another oration, presented shortly before Christmas of the same year, was the *Pro Ligario*. Francius introduced the speaker with enthusiasm and praise for the qualities of this oration. This explains why it was presented a second time. This time, no introduction by Francius to the student giving the recitation has been preserved. However, he alluded to a *Pro Ligario* recitation in his introduction to the obviously brilliant young student who was to deliver the *Pro Archia* in 1698, mentioned above.³⁶ This undeniably indicates that more, probably many more presentations were organised by Francius than the number we are able to deduce from his own introductory orations.

Unfortunately Francius did not reveal to us the name of his favourite student who delivered the *Pro Ligario* and the *Pro Archia* in 1698. On one other occasion, however, seven years earlier, Francius' introductory oration to the student performing Cicero's *Pro rege Deiotaro* offers sufficient information as to the latter's identity. The oration had been assigned to various students, without, however, having been presented until that moment. Now, finally, it was to be presented by a student, so we are informed, who belonged to the senatorial, patrician ranks of the city, the son of the burgomaster present in the audience. Moreover, he was the grandson of the late burgomaster and patron of the Athenaeum, the great Nicolas Tulp, father-in-law of the burgomaster present at the session. Nicolas Tulp had promoted Francius' entrance in the institute and exhorted him to deliver his first oration in 1672. Tulp's son-in-law was Jan Six and the student delivering the recitation was therefore the latter's son.³⁷ The preface to the *Orationes 1705* revealed his name, viz.

³⁶ 1698 06 18, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 433-6 (p. 434): "Vidistis non ita pridem quanta sit vis eloquentiae, quid pars illius exterior praestare, vel sola, possit, cum disertissimi Oratoris disertissimam pro Ligario Orationem, non sine summa omnium admiratione, quam e vultu vestro legere potui, disertissimus vobis Juvenis repraesentaret" (You have seen what strength eloquence possesses, what effect the performance on its own is able to achieve at the time, not long ago, when the most eloquent young man delivered for you — with the admiration of the whole audience, as I could read on your faces — the most eloquent oration *Pro Ligario* by the most eloquent Orator Cicero).

³⁷ 1691 03 19, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 273-8 (p. 275): "hanc vobis recitabit, Auditores, ac pronuntiabit Orationem ordinis hic Senatorii, ordinis Patricii Juvenis" (this oration, Listeners, will be recited and pronounced by this young man of senatorial, of patrician

Diederik, and added that this Diederik was honoured to be chosen to deliver Francius' large panegyric on Amsterdam, the *Amstelaedami Laus* in the following year, on 28 January 1692.³⁸

In Francius' introductory oration to the recitation of Cicero's double oration *Post reditum*, one held in the Senate and the other for the people of Rome, it reads that not only gifted students were elected to represent a Ciceronian oration. Francius publicly stated, that the student, to whom the audience had already listened on a previous occasion, had not much talent, but that he had nevertheless developed himself through practice into a fairly good speaker, and could now compete with the most talented.³⁹

Francius speaks about one student only, which seems to imply that this student delivered both the orations. However, considering the praxis we have described until now, this seems to be rather surprising and improbable. There is even one example of a presentation of an oration, the *Pro lege Manilia*, which Francius divided between two students. This was one of the last performances conducted by Francius. He opened it with an interesting introductory oration. In this he argued that the three 'genera causarum', the deliberative, the adhortative and the demonstrative genre, could be reduced to only one, for they all tried to convince the audience of the excellence of something, be it the point of view to be chosen, the aim to be striven for, or the virtues of a person, a city and so on. So all oratory belongs, in a way, to the 'genus demonstrativum', within which the 'genus laudativum', the panegyric, is the most common one. Unfortunately, Cicero has not left us a specimen of a formal panegyric. There are, however, marvellous examples of the genre within his orations, such as the eulogies on Sicily and Syracuse in the *In Verrem* orations, on Poetica and Eloquentia in the *Pro Archia*,

rank" (p. 277): Francius is happy to introduce the grandson of him, "qui in hunc ipse me locum produxit primus. Anni sunt prope viginti, meministi, Consul,... cum... hujus ipsius loci tutela ac salutare praesidium, Nicolaus Tulpus, amplissimus socer tuus, e privata me vita in publicam, e tenebris in lucem protraxit. Hujus ego hortatu primam meam ex hoc suggestu Orationem habui, et, nisi tempora obstitissent, jam tum adeptus fuisset, quod exacto deinde biennio sim consecutus" (who just singled me out to stand on this pulpit. For it is almost twenty years ago, — you will remember, Burgomaster — when the patron and beneficial protector of this same place, Nicolas Tulp, your illustrious father-in-law, drew me from private into public life, from the darkness to the light. On his urging, I delivered my first oration from this pulpit and, if times had not being opposed to it, already then I would have obtained what I obtained two years later).

³⁸ *Orationes* 1705, fol. *3v.

³⁹ 1690 06 28, *Orationes* 1705, pp. 259-61 (p. 261).

on 'clementia' and 'bonitas', mercy and goodness (of Caesar) in *Pro Marcello*, *Pro Ligario* and *Pro rege Deiotaro*. Francius' characterisation of those orations seems to offer us the key to his way of making the selection from the large number of Cicero's orations. The *Pro lege Manilia* too contains a eulogy, viz. on Pompey, and this was, again, the reason to choose this text. It was to be presented, as already mentioned, in two parts by two students, with the advantage of relieving them from too much memorizing and adding to the audience's enjoyment.⁴⁰

At least four more orations of Francius served as introductions to the delivery of Ciceronian orations. In two cases this is indicated in the title itself, announcing the presentation of "nonnullae e Cicerone Miscellae orationes" (1690), some orations, and "quaedam e Cicerone" (1702), some texts from Cicero. The contents of the two orations *De ratione declamandi* (1696 and 1697) also suggest that they preceded the declamation of one or more Ciceronian orations. None of these introductory texts of Francius contains further specifications as to which orations of Cicero were to be presented by the students.

3.3.4. Demosthenes in Greek

Only one year after "having broken new ground and started his rhetorical exercises and public recitations" and not being very certain about its success, Francius experienced considerable satisfaction and was strongly encouraged, that his own students suggested a new experiment (1688). After their presentation of Latin texts, they were eager to memorize Greek texts for similar exercises. The choice of these texts, as Francius continues in his introductory oration to the session, was not difficult, for the natural Greek counterpart to Cicero's Latin orations were those of Demosthenes. Francius had chosen a short oration to the Athenian citizens when they were discussing the letter of the angry King Philippos of Macedonia. The illustrious student, who dared to tread new and untested paths, merited the special attention of the audience.⁴¹

Obviously, the audience did not disappoint the student and his teacher, for the success encouraged Francius to organize a second performance

⁴⁰ 1704 03 17, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 604-8.

⁴¹ 1788 05 12, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 168-71 (p. 168): "nova plane via atque inusitata, Oratorii hujus exercitii nostri et publicarum Recitationum initium feci"; p. 171: "juvenem hunc ornatissimum in novo atque insolito dicendi stadio decurrentem". The recited text is Demosthenes, *Oratio XI*, which counts six pages in the Oxford edition by S. H. Butcher. The authorship of Demosthenes is doubtful.

of Demosthenes. This time, the funeral oration of the Athenian author on the soldiers fallen in the battle of Chaeronea against Philippos was to be recited, hopefully with similar success. Francius was well aware of the uniqueness of these performances in Greek, for he predicted that the audience was to listen to something which might never be heard again.⁴² And indeed, no more presentations of original Greek texts have been recorded. That is not to say, however, that Greek recitations were to disappear completely. Indeed, the presentation of Cicero's *Pro Archia* and *Pro Marcello* in Greek translations has already been mentioned, and another example of this procedure will be discussed in the next section.

3.3.5. Recitations of poetical texts; Ovid and others

Two years after the Demosthenes recitations, Francius seems to have forgotten them, for he declared that only Ciceronian texts had been presented until then and that now he was going to offer something different for the first time, viz. a recitation of poetical texts. Such a recitation, Francius added, was rather unusual and demanded more effort from the students. Moreover, texts suitable for recitation because of their oratorical qualities were scarce. His choice for the performance had fallen on a poem "On Civil War" by Petronius and on the *Elegia ad Liviam*. To Francius' regret, the authorship of this elegy was doubtful, but it had great rhetorical qualities, and therefore could very well be the work of Ovid, to whom it has sometimes been ascribed, although others names are proposed as well.⁴³

After the presentation of the *Elegia ad Liviam* and the holidays following it, Francius directed the students' attention to a text which was certainly Ovid's. As we have seen, Ovid was a favourite poet of Francius since his schooldays, and he would continue to be so throughout Francius' life. In 1689 Francius published three booklets containing transcriptions in elegiac distichs by four students of passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, results of poetical exercises. Francius added his own transcription to the transcriptions of the third passage, the well-known Pyramus and Thisbe story. But Ovid's masterpiece was used for rhetorical exercises as well. Two speeches from Book XIII were used

⁴² 1788 07 07, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 172-4 (p. 174): "id unum vobis affirmo, ... id audituros vos, Auditores, quod nunquam fortasse in posterum audietis".

⁴³ 1690 07 10, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 262-6 (p. 263): "Sed nihil vobis exhibuimus hactenus, nisi de Tulliano depromptum, et soluto sermone conscriptum".

three times in a combined oratorical presentation, including the very last one in Francius' career, scarcely five weeks before his death.

In the performance following the recitation of Petronius and the Elegy to Livia, Francius again introduced an innovation. He announced that the two famous speeches of Ajax and Ulysses, disputing their rights to Achilles' suit of armour, were going to be recited. This time, however, the audience would not, as usual, listen to texts which were merely "aliena" and recited in their original form, but to texts which were partly "nostra", "our own", for Francius had the students make a Latin prose version of Ovid's hexameters. So, as well as the 'Actio' and 'Pronuntiatio', the 'Elocutio', the idiom of the prose, was this time a students' contribution.⁴⁴

One year later Ovid's two speeches were subject to another experiment. The first surprise for the audience was the language Francius used in his opening speech: it was his first oration written and delivered in Greek. He informed his public that the two students who had presented the speeches in a prose version of their own last year, were now to have the two Greek heroes argue in their mother tongue. The Greek version was probably in prose and composed by the students, just as students were to translate the orations of Cicero delivered in Greek in June 1693, as we have seen above.⁴⁵

It seems almost symbolic, that Francius' favourite author from his youth, Ovid, provided the material for what was to be his last professorial activity at the Athenaeum. On 14 July 1704, Francius had for the last time gathered together his beloved Amsterdam audience. In his opening speech, he reminded his listeners of the presentations of the Ovidian speeches of Ajax and Ulysses from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in prose and in Greek, some ten or twelve years ago. Now, however, he had charged two of his students to present the texts in their sweetest original poetical version. In the preface to the posthumous edition of Francius' orations, we are informed that the two orations were given by Egbertus Wildius and Petrus Vlamingius. Vlamingius (1686-1733) was to become a successful poet and editor of Latin and Dutch poetry.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ 1690 10 09, *Orationes 1705*, 267-72.

⁴⁵ 1691 10 29, *Orationes 1705*, 279-81. For the Greek translations of Cicero's *Pro Archia* and *Pro Marcello*, see above, 3. 3. 2.

⁴⁶ 1704 07 14, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 609-11, and "Praefatio", fol. *2r. Another recitation of a poetical text, Juvenal's Tenth satire, had taken place earlier in that year, on 25 February, on the initiative of the student involved, see *Orationes 1705*, pp. 598-603.

3.3.6. *Orations translated into Latin; P. C. Hooft and others*

The performances of Latin orations in a Greek or French translation in the last quarter of the seventeenth century had their counterpart in the presentation of Latin translations of Greek, French and particularly Dutch orations in the first decade of the eighteenth century. In July 1701 Francius organized two sessions, for which he had prepared Latin translations of an oration of the Greek bishop Flavian of Antiochia, addressed to the emperor Theodosius and the oration of the French Huguenot Petrus Duboscus (Pierre Du Bosc, 1623-1692) concerning the Edict of Nantes, addressed to the French king Louis XIV. The introductory orations of Francius do not contain much information about the presentation, but the edition of the translations, which soon followed, reveals the names of the performing students, Isaacus ab Heule and Reinerus Stapel. In his "Lectori", Francius showed his satisfaction with the large gathering at the performance and added that he moreover had advised the students to translate the orations into Dutch, but that he doubted, whether they had followed this advice.⁴⁷

Dutch literature itself provided the texts for the last public activity of that same year at the Athenaeum. Already in his *Amstelaedami Laus*, Francius had argued that the Dutch literary work he most admired was the *Historien* of Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581-1647). He praised this work even more when he introduced the recitation of two orations taken from it. These orations were summaries of the orations by the counselors of King Philip II of Spain, the Duke of Alva and Philip's confessor Fresneda. The complete texts in Italian were to be found in a work of Bentivoglio. Hooft's abridged versions had been translated into Latin by the students who were to recite them and, Francius added, whom the audience had often heard before.⁴⁸ Since we have just come across the names of two students, Van Heule and Stapel, from the year 1701 and will soon meet them again, it is possible that they have also translated and recited Hooft's orations.

⁴⁷ 1701 07 11, *Orationes* 1705, pp. 537-57; 1701 07 18, *Orationes* 1705, pp. 558-72; *Flavianii, Episcopi Antiocheni, Ad Theodosium Imperatorem; et Petri du-Boscii Ad Galliarum regem, Ludovicum XIV, Orationes: Quarum primam Isaacus ab Heule; Alteram Reinerus Stapel; In Illustri Amstel. Athenaeo, Julii XI et XVIII, Publice recitarunt* (Amsterdam, 1701); fol. +2r-v: "Petrus Francius Lectori S.". The oration of bishop Flavianus has been included by Johannes Chrysostomus in his "Ad populum Antiochenum Homilia 21" (Migne, PG 49, coll. 211-222).

⁴⁸ 1701 12 29, *Orationes* 1705, pp. 573-578 (p. 577): "Verum, jam ipsas, credo, audire cupitis Orationes et hos ipsos Oratores nostros, qui in sermonem Latinum e lingua eas vernacula transtulerunt".

Hooft's *Historien* provided the material for a series of four public sessions in the Athenaeum, held on Friday 16, Saturday 17, Monday 19 and Tuesday 20 July 1703 respectively. Francius himself opened every session with a short oration of his own to explain the choices he had made. The orations included one by William of Orange to the Princes of Germany, one by Marnix of St. Aldegonde to the States of Holland, one by the same at the Diet of Worms, and finally one by the diplomat Elbertus Leoninus to the States General. To his regret, Francius had not succeeded in finding the complete original text of the oration of Leoninus, which had recently been published in Antwerp. In the second session, Francius confirmed that the first oration was well received and obviously the audience was satisfied with the others too, for Francius soon had the texts published, together with his own introductory orations. Thanks to this edition, once again we know the names of the students, who gave the recitations and also made the translations. We have met two of them before, Egbertus Veen de Wilde and Petrus Vlaming; the others are called Johannes Wolters and Silas a Jaarland. Francius' address "To the Reader" contains an interesting remark on the translation. The aim, Francius explained, was not a verbal translation, but rather the Latin should express the mind of the author. The latter, however, had used a concise style, which sometimes tended to become obscure. Such a brevity of style may suit a historical work, but it is less suitable in an oration. That is the reason why the translations were longer than Hooft's original texts.⁴⁹

3.3.7. *Original orations of the students*

In all the sessions we have come across until now, the students presented "aliena", i.e. texts borrowed from ancient classical literature, be it in their original form, in a translation from one language into another or in a transcription from poetry in prose. The only exception was the presentation of the *Amstelaedami laus*, a new text which had been written by Francius for the occasion itself. The ultimate aim of the rhetorical

⁴⁹ 1703 07 16/17/19/20, *Orationes 1705*, pp. 586-597 (p. 588): "per eos qui recitabunt in Latinum sermonem conversas". The edition of the Latin translations, *Quatuor Orationes, e Petro Cornelio Hoofdio, in Latinum sermonem translatae, Per Egbertum Veen de Wilde, Johannem Wolters, Petrum Vlaming, Silam a Jaarland: Et in illustri Amstelaedamsium Athenaeo, XVI. XVII. XIX. XX. Jul. Ab iisdem habitae* (Amsterdam, 1703), contains pp. 3-4 "Petrus Francius Lectori S." and Francius' introductory orations on pp. 5-7, 16-18, 25-27 and 35-37.

exercises, however, was that the students prove their ability to offer their audience "sua", texts written by themselves. Although Francius suggested more than once, e.g. in his orations *De ratione declamandi* (1696 and 1697), that his students had done so over the years⁵⁰, we have to wait until 1701 to find tangible proofs of this level of oratorical skill. In May 1701, two industrious students, Isaacus ab Heule and Reinerus Stapel, whose names we have already come across, recited their own Latin orations "On the Inconstancy of human affairs" and "On Solon's dictum 'Nobody is happy before his death'". There is no indication that Francius preceded the delivery by an introductory oration of his own.⁵¹ As far as we know, it would be more than two years before other students dared to follow this example. In July 1703, Abraham de Roemer and Henricus Chastelain delivered their orations "On the study of History" and "On the study of Rhetoric". Thus they had written praising orations on the two disciplines that Francius was teaching. This time the orations have also been published, with a letter "To the reader" by Francius, in which he explicitly declared that the subject was not chosen by himself, but by the students.⁵² The independence of the students and the length of the orations presented, 16 and 19 pages respectively in the printed texts, proved that Francius had finally succeeded in raising some of his pupils to fully-qualified public speakers in the last year of his life.

⁵⁰ 1697 10 30, *Orationes* 1705, pp. 392-416 (p. 410-11): "Quis iste porro tam audax, qui semper nos aliena, nunquam nostra proferre audeat criminari?... Ab ista me calumnia liberant praeclara discipulorum meorum specimina, quae et Latine vobis et Graece, et soluto sermone et stricto, partim aliunde translata, partim per se composita et e sui scrinio pectoris educta atque deprompta diversis saepe temporibus ediderunt" (so who will be insolent enough to dare to accuse us, that we always present texts from others and never our own? I will be exonerated from this slander thanks to the brilliant offerings of my students, which they, both in Latin and in Greek, in prose and in verse, borrowed from elsewhere and partly self-composed by their own, generated and inspired by their deepest self, have presented on several occasions); 1697 06 27, *Orationes* 1705, pp. 417-32 (p. 427): "Aliena recitant juniores, sua proveciores. Utriusque rei exempla vidistis complura et brevi denuo visuri estis: ut enim hic Ciceronem, ita mox alii alia, hoc est sua, hoc ipso in loco repraesentabunt" (The younger students recite borrowed texts, the advanced students their own ones. You have seen several examples of both kinds and shortly you will see others, for just as today's orator will present Cicero, so others will present other texts, that is, their own from this same pulpit").

⁵¹ *Isaaci ab Heule Oratio De rerum humanarum Inconstantia: Et Reineri Stapel Oratio Super dicto Solonis, Nemo ante mortem beatus: Habitae in Illustri Amstelael. Athenaeo VI et IX Maji* (Amsterdam 1701). The booklet contains a "Petrus Francius Lectori S.", but no introductory oration.

⁵² *Abrahami de Roemer, et Henrici Chastelain, De Studio Historico, et De Studio Oratorio, Orationes duae, XXIII et XXIV Jul. In Amstelaedamensi Athenaeo Habitaee* (Amsterdam, 1703).

3.4. Oratorical commentaries on *Pro Archia* and *Pro Marcello*

Among Francius' correspondents, we find some well-known philologists, including Nicolaus Heinsius, Jacobus Gronovius, Johannes Georgius Graevius and Jacobus Perizonius, and philological problems form part of the topics discussed. Nevertheless, Francius' interest in editorial work and commentary is rather limited. The only texts he published are the two orations of Cicero he proved to be so familiar with, the *Pro Archia* and the *Pro Marcello*, and his commentary on these texts is exclusively concerned with problems of recitation, with the 'Eloquentia exterior', as Francius called it. The edition of the *Pro Archia*, presented as "Specimen Eloquentiae exterioris" (a model of oratorical delivery), offers a critical text followed by a set of 39 rules concerning pronunciation, "Regulae circa Pronuntiationem", and a set of 56 rules concerning gesticulation, "Regulae circa Actionem". The general tenor of these very specific rules seems to be moderation, "aurea mediocritas". The recitation should be smooth, serious, full of dignity, avoiding extremes, both in pronunciation and in gesticulation. To give an example: "It is neither allowed or permitted to beat one's chest, to batter on the pulpit or to make noise with one's hands".⁵³

These rules could help us to reconstruct a picture of Francius' way of presenting his orations. And his application of these rules in the commentary on the *Pro Archia* would allow a still more perfect reconstruction of the way, in which Francius expected his students to present this oration. For this commentary is exclusively concerned with the 'Eloquentia exterior', the pronunciation of all the words and phrases in a recitation and the appropriate gesticulation. A summary of Francius' comment on the opening words of the oration, "Si quid est in me ingenii, Iudices" will illustrate this: "Unlike some students do, the words should be recited in one breath; this holds good for all pieces between commas; the voice must be slow and low, as always in the 'Exordium' according to rule XXXI, unless an 'Exordium ex abrupto' is concerned; 'Iudices' must be preceded and followed by a small stop; I hesitate about the gesture; Quintilian wishes the hand to be moved towards the face or the chest, but I prefer to omit any gesture for one should not start with a gesture according to rule XLIX; only a gentlemanly and decorous bow may accompany the word 'Iudices'."

⁵³ Regula circa Actionem, XXXVII: "Pectus ferire, cathedram pulsare, aut ullum manibus sonum edere vetitum ac prohibitum".

The edition of the *Pro Archia* had been preceded by two orations of Francius about the way to present a text, “De ratione declamandi”, and followed by a series of presentations of Cicero’s oration, as mentioned above. Two years later, Francius published the *Pro Marcello* as the “Eloquentiae exterioris specimen alterum”, the second model of oratorical delivery. This time, 24 rules for preaching in the church were added.

3.5. Conclusion: approval and criticism

The *Pro Archia* edition of 1697 was actually an apologetic work. In a letter to Gisbertus Cuperus, Francius revealed that the edition had been prepared due to his quarrel with his colleagues at the Leiden University.⁵⁴ In 1692 the University had offered him the chair of Eloquence. Francius had first accepted the appointment, but then declined it at the very last moment, with the excuse that the Amsterdam government wanted to keep him at any cost and had willingly promised him a substantial rise in salary. The Leiden colleagues, in particular Francius’ former friend Jacobus Gronovius who would have been his collega proximus, must have felt offended. The following year, Jacobus Perizonius accepted the appointment Francius had refused. He soon became involved in a vehement polemic with Francius over some trivial question in a Greek poem of a pupil of himself and Gronovius. Behind the animosity lay a different view on teaching ancient literature and on its importance in daily life. While the practice of oratorical delivery had fallen into disuse in Leiden and elsewhere, Francius considered practical rhetorical skill absolutely indispensable for his students as future politicians, diplomats, lawyers, preachers and other members of public and cultural life. Remarkably enough, although this manner of rhetorical instruction was neglected at the other universities, their teachers more than once praised Francius for upholding it. Among them were Perizonius (during his professorship in Franeker), Graevius in Utrecht who even sent his own son to Francius for an oratorical crash course of a couple of days, and Cuperus in Deventer. The *Pro Archia* edition with rhetorical commentary was particularly praised in the Netherlands and abroad, and was even reprinted in the nineteenth century.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Francius to Cuperus, 1697 10 01 (The Hague, Royal Library, MS 72 C 7, fol. 77r): “Specimen, quod rixarum a me Leidensium occasione conscriptum est”.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Posthuma* 1706, p. 365 (Perizonius, Franeker 1683): “omnia quae a te proficiscuntur, tendunt ad retinendam gloriam antiquam patriae, pene ceteroqui collapsam prorsus”

On the other hand, numerous passages in the orations of Francius show that his oratorical exercises were met with criticism throughout his career. Obviously, his critics considered these exercises, which demanded so much time and energy from the students to memorize, a waste of time and possible results not only useless, but moreover unattainable. The students would never reach the level of the Ancients, if for no other reason than the lack of spontaneity when reciting "aliena". Francius fiercely rejected such objections, arguing that the memorizing of such excellent Latin texts was no problem for his young students and that it automatically provided them with a thorough knowledge of Latin and helped them improve their own Latin style. Ultimately they would present texts written by themselves.

(whatever you produce aims to uphold the ancient glory of our fatherland, which otherwise has almost completely fallen into ruin); p. 388-389 (Graevius, Utrecht 1688): "Filius meus... tui caussa tres quatuorve dies commorabitur Amsterodami.... Sed nec in tantillo temporis spatio poterit a te inanis discedere, praecipue si semel iterumque legentem aliquot Orationum Ciceronis capita correxeris, ubi aberrabit" (My son will stay three or four days in Amsterdam to see you. Even after such a short time he will not depart from you without being enriched, particularly if he has the opportunity to read you some pieces of Cicero's orations and is corrected by you whenever he makes a mistake); p. 427 (Graevius, Utrecht 1697): "oratione Pro Archia, in qua docuisti ut Tullius ora ferebat, ac quos gestus agebat, quique sint agendi" (your edition of the *Pro Archia*, in which you have made known Cicero's pronunciation and gesticulation and taught which gestures the orations have to be presented with); p. 432 (Cuperus, Deventer 1698): "Accipe... me summam voluptatem percepisse ex specimine tuo meque ita statuere te natum esse revocandae et restaurandae arti deperditae quaeque veluti Lethaeis aquis immersa et tam a sacris quam aliis concionibus et orationibus exulabat. Nam regulae circa pronuntiationem et actionem et quae alia per notas sparsae atque adeo binis Orationibus, quas olim legeram, comprehensae sunt, petitae utique videntur esse ex ipsa rei natura, et si quis perpendere eas diligenter et apud se tentare atque exemplum inde sumere velit, fatebitur vel invitum nihil tam naturale esse atque ab ipso rei ingenio quasi profluere" (You must know that I have found the greatest pleasure in reading your Specimen; it persuaded me that you are born to revitalize and restore that lost art, submerged as it were under the waters of the Lethe and at the same time no longer found in religious and other sermons and orations, as if it were in exile; the rules about pronunciation and action and everything that is to be found throughout the annotations, and also in the two Orations which I had read before [probably the orations "De ratione declamandi" are meant] seem to be deduced from the nature itself of the material; if one is prepared to study them diligently and apply them to himself and have them serve as an example, he will confess, even reluctantly, that nothing is so natural and emerging, as it were, from the spirit of the material itself); the *Acta eruditorum anno MDCXCII publicata* (Leipzig, 1692), pp. 345-349, offered a long analysis of Francius' first edition of his *Orationes* (Amsterdam 1692), stressing the passages dealing with the rhetorical 'Actio'; those from the year MDCXCVII, (Leipzig 1697), pp. 464-466, abundantly praised the edition of the *Pro Archia*; this work was published again in Berlin in 1823 by Conrad Levezow; the Rules on pronunciation and gesticulation have been included in several other publications.

Francius obviously defended his methods for rhetorical teaching with success, that is, during his lifetime. Indeed towards the end of his life, his programme of public presentations even seems to have intensified, and his audience faithfully continued to support them. Nevertheless, this unique phenomenon seems to have definitely disappeared with Francius' decease. Partly for financial reasons, his chair was left vacant. The part-time professor of Logic, J.T. Schalbruch, offered to teach eloquence, but there is no proof that this offer was accepted and traces of any such activity on the part of Schalbruch are absolutely lacking. Although eloquence was to be taught in Amsterdam again some decades later, the "Eloquentia exterior", as conceived by Francius, had not only definitely left the town on the Amstel, but, like another goddess Astraea, had abandoned the world itself.

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APPENDIX

Chronological list of registered public deliveries by Francius

[*Orat.* 1705 = Petrus Francius, *Orationes. Editio secunda Longe emendatio et magna parte auctior* (Amsterdam 1705)]

- 1672 03 14 De studio eloquentiae [*Orat.* 1705, 1-24]
 1674 03 20 Super inita cum Britannis Pace Irenicon [Amsterdam, 1674]
 1674 04 20 De historiae utilitate [*Orat.* 1705, 25-34]
 1677 03 19 Epicedium, in funere Herois invicti Michaelis Adriani Ruteri, Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae Archithalassi, Ducis, Equitis, etc. [Amsterdam, 1677]
 1677 06 09 De conjungendo Litterarum & Eloquentiae Studio [*Orat.* 1705, 35-64]
 1678 10 10 Janus Clausus, seu carmen de pace inter Gallos, Hispanos ac Belgas Foederatos Terra marique conventa [ed. Amsterdam 1678]
 1680 03 04 Encomium Galli Gallinacei [Amsterdam, 1680; *Orat.* 1705, 65-99]
 1686 03 04 De usu et praestantia linguae Graecae [*Orat.* 1705, 100-140]
 1686 10 16 Buda expugnata [Amsterdam 1686]
 1686 11 17 Super Johannis III, Polonorum Regis, de Tartaris ac Turcis Victoria, Oda epinicia [Amsterdam, 1686]
 1686 12 30 Victoriae Caesarianae Accessio [Amsterdam, 1686]
 1687 05 14 Super illustribus Venetorum victoriis Oda epinicia [Amsterdam, 1687]
 1687 06 09 Praeparatio ad recitationes publicas [*Orat.* 1705, 141-145]
 1687 07 10 Cum Orationes Ciceronis pro Archia et Marcello recitarentur [*Orat.* 1705, 146-155]
 1687 09 18 Cum eadem Orationes, sed vice versa, recitarentur [*Orat.* 1705, 156-161]
 1687 12 22 Cum Oratio pro Ligario pronuntiaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 162-167]
 1688 05 12 Cum Demosthenis πρὸς τὴν Φιλίππου ἐπιστολὴν λόγος recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 168-171]
 1688 07 07 Cum Demosthenis λόγος ἐπιτάφιος recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 172-174]
 1689 03 14 Cum Oratio pro Archia per plures recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 175-179]
 1689 05 14 Finita omnium Recitatione [*Orat.* 1705, 180-182]
 1689 07 11 Cum Orationes Catilinae exhiberentur [*Orat.* 1705, 183-189]
 1689 10 10 Oratio de perfecto et consummato oratore [Amsterdam, 1689; *Orat.* 1705, 190-251]
 1690 03 07 Cum nonnullae e Cicerone Miscellae Orationes recitarentur [*Orat.* 1705, 252-258]
 1690 06 28 Cum Orationes post Reditum ad Quirites & in Senatu repraesentarentur. [*Orat.* 1705, 259-261]
 1690 07 10 Cum Specimen Belli Civilis ex Petronio & Elegia ad Liviam Consolatoria pronuntiarentur [*Orat.* 1705, 262-266]

- 1690 10 09 Cum Ajacis & Ulyssis ex Ovidio Orationes soluto sermone recitentur. [*Orat.* 1705, 267-272]
- 1691 03 19 Cum Oratio pro Rege Dejotaro pronuntiaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 273-278]
- 1691 10 29 Λόγος προσφωνητικός... πρὸ τῶν τοῦ Αἴαντος καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς Λόγων ἀποστοματισθεῖς [*Orat.* 1705, 279-281]
- 1692 01 28 Cum Amstelaedami Laudes Celebrarentur [*Orat.* 1705, 282-286; followed by Laus Amstelaedami, *Orat.* 1705, 287-311]
- 1692 03 24 Pro Continuatione Muneris Gratiarum Actio [*Orat.* 1705, 312-335]
- 1692 12 24 Cum Ciceronis Oratio pro A. Licin. Archia Gallice recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 336-343]
- 1693 06 1/2 Λόγος προσφωνητικός... πρὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰλίου Λικινίου Ἀρχίου καὶ Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου λόγων ἀποστοματισθεῖς [*Orat.* 1705, 344-346]
- 1695 03 15 Oratio In funere Augustissimae ac Potentissimae, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Reginae, Mariae. etc. etc. etc. [Amsterdam, 1696; *Orat.* 1705, 347-391]
- 1696 10 30 Oratio De Ratione Declamandi [Amsterdam, 1696; *Orat.* 1705, 392-416]
- 1697 06 27 Oratio II De Ratione Declamandi [Amsterdam 1696, after the preceding Oratio from 96 10 30, p. 27-40; *Orat.* 1705, 417-432]
- 1698 06 18 Cum Oratio pro Archia recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 433-436]
- 1698 07 12 Finita Recitatione [*Orat.* 1705, 437-439]
- 1700 01 01 Oratio de Anno Jubileo [Amsterdam, 1700; *Orat.* 1705, 440-475]
- 1700 06 21 Oratio in funere Viri Clarissimi Stephani Morini, Linguarum Orientalium Professoris, et Verbi Divini in Ecclesia Gallicana Ministri [Amsterdam, 1700; *Orat.* 1705, 476-536]
- 1701 07 11 Cum Flaviani Oratio e Chrysostomo recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 537-557]
- 1701 07 18 Cum Petri Duboscii ad Galliarum Regem Oratio recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 558-572]
- 1701 12 19 Cum Albani Ducis & Fresnedae Orationes e P.C. Hoofdio recitentur. [*Orat.* 1705, 573-578]
- 1702 07 10 Cum quaedam e Cicerone recitentur [*Orat.* 1705, 579-581]
- 1702 07 18 Finita Recitatione [*Orat.* 1705, 582-585]
- 1703 07 16 Cum Gulielmi I. Oratio ad Germaniae Principes recitaretur [Quatuor Orationes e Petro Cornelio Hoofdio, Amsterdam, 1703, p. 5-7; *Orat.* 1705, 586-588]
- 1703 07 17 Cum Aldegonzii Oratio ad Hollandiae Ordines recitaretur [Quatuor Orationes e Hoofdio, Amsterdam, 1703, p. 16-18; *Orat.* 1705, 589-591]
- 1703 07 19 Cum Aldegonzii Oratio in Consessu Wormatae dicta recitaretur [Quatuor Orationes e Hoofdio, Amsterdam, 1703, p. 25-27; *Orat.* 1705, 592-594]
- 1703 07 20 Cum Leonini ad Ordines Generales Oratio recitaretur [Quatuor Orationes e Hoofdio, Amsterdam, 1703, p. 35-37; *Orat.* 1705, 595-597]
- 1704 02 25 Cum Juvenalis Saturae X recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 598-603]
- 1704 03 17 Cum Oratio pro lege Manilia recitaretur [*Orat.* 1705, 604-608]
- 1704 07 14 Cum Ajacis et Ulyssis ex Ovidio Orationes recitentur [*Orat.* 1705, 609-611]

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